Ben Jonson's Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden

By R. F. Patterson D. Litt.

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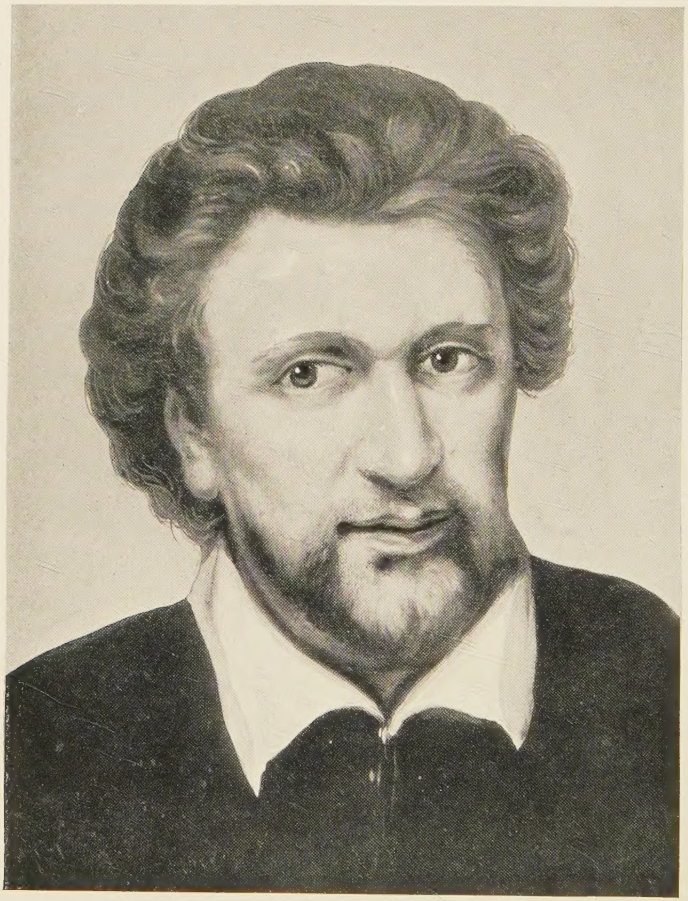
Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden



BEN JONSON

After the portrait by Gerard Honthorst

Of all stiles he loved most to be named honest, and hath of that ane hundreth letters so naming him.

Conversations, 18 (p. 52)

Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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Et non sobria verba subnotasti
Exemplo nimium periculoso:
Μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν, Procille.
Martial, I. 27.

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VXORI AMANTISSIMAE
HVIVS OPVSCVLI ET RERVM MAIORVM
CVRIOSAE ADIVTRICI
D. D. D.
AVCTOR

Nihil in studiis parvum est.

QUINTILIAN.

Bellum scribentium. What a sight it is to see writers committed together by the ears for ceremonies, syllables, points, colons, commas, hyphens and the like! fighting as for their fires and their altars; and angry that none are frighted at their noises and loud brayings under their asses' skins.

JONSON, *Discoveries.*

Medio tutissimus ibis.

OVID.

PREFACE

This edition of *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* formed part of some work submitted to the University of Glasgow for the degree of Doctor of Letters. The *Conversations*, in spite of their somewhat desultory nature, remain the chief and most authentic source for the facts of Jonson's life. It would not be easy to exaggerate their interest and importance.

A consideration of the previous editions of the *Conversations* will make it clear that a new one is long overdue. Laing published his edition for the Shakespeare Society in 1842. He did not attempt to write annotations on an elaborate scale. He printed at least six meaningless readings in his text. Moreover, his edition has long been out of print, and much has been discovered in the last eighty years. Cunningham, in his editions of 1871 and 1875, reprinted Laing's text and made a few cursory improvements in Laing's notes. Philip Sidney's edition of 1900 scarcely deserves to be mentioned.

In the present edition I have endeavoured to give

as accurate a text as possible. I have made a close examination of the unique MS. of Sir Robert Sibbald in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. I have on several occasions been able to restore a manuscript reading which had been rejected by Laing, accidentally or inadvisedly. I have collated the MS. with the 1711 Folio edition of Drummond's Works, and have recorded in a critical apparatus all the variant readings which are of any importance. An editor who records every variation, no matter how trifling, seems to me to be shirking the duty of exercising his intelligence. Those who do this are converting a task which requires a certain amount of skill and judgment into a purely mechanical operation, which requires nothing but time and industry.

I have inserted Sibbald's marginalia (pages 2 to 10), which Laing omits. I have restored to the text (p. 47) one passage which was too much for Laing's sense of propriety. I have introduced two important emendations of my own into the text, as well as several minor ones. I propose both these emendations with much confidence. One is "Feraboscos Pauane" for the meaningless "Parabostes Pariane" (p. 9); and the other is "The epigrame of Martial XI in Verpum" for the equally meaningless "The epigrame of Martial Vir verpium" printed by Laing and the other editors (p. 50).

In my Introduction I have brought together as

much information about Jonson's journey to Scotland, and about Drummond, as is necessary for a correct estimate of the value of the *Conversations*. I have given a complete account of Sibbald's MS. and of the 1711 Folio edition of Drummond, and I have made a few criticisms upon the previous editions of the *Conversations*.

In my Notes I have attempted to explain every allusion, but have done so as succinctly as possible. I trust that no passage of importance has been left unexplained.

It is both a duty and a pleasure to thank those who have given me assistance in the preparation of this book. My thanks are especially due to Professor W. Macneile Dixon, of Glasgow University, for advice and encouragement given in the early stages of the work; to my friend Mr. F. Dale, B.A., Assistant Master at Berkhamsted School, for reading the proofs; to my friend Mr. W. G. Constable, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, for verifying some points for me at the British Museum; and to the Earl of Home, for giving me some information about the portrait of Drummond which has been reproduced as an illustration to this book. This portrait, which was in Lord Home's possession until June, 1919, was long thought to be the work of Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, but it is now believed to be by the Scottish portrait-painter George Jamesone, who painted it some

six years before Drummond's meeting with Jonson took place. It is now in the possession of a member of the Drummond family. The portrait of Ben Jonson which is reproduced as a frontispiece to this edition of the *Conversations*, is the work of Gerard Honthorst. It is the property of Lord Sackville, and hangs at his seat, Knole Park, Sevenoaks.

R. F. PATTERSON.

Glasgow, *December, 1922.*

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INTRODUCTION

I. Jonson's Journey to Scotland

The exact reasons which induced Jonson to undertake the long and exhausting foot-pilgrimage from London to Edinburgh are not known, and can only be vaguely guessed at. Such a journey would be no light undertaking in those days of bad roads even for a young man in good condition. Jonson in 1618 was forty-six years of age, and weighed 19 st. 12 lb. He was accustomed to a sedentary life, and ill equipped to endure the hardships which so protracted a walking tour was bound to entail. It must have been some strong motive that uprooted the unwieldy poet from his chair by the fireside at the Mermaid. It may have been that he desired to visit the home of his ancestors, who by his own account came from Annandale. It may have been that he went to Scotland by command of James, or at any rate in obedience to a wish of the king's. James had revisited Scotland in the previous year, and this may have suggested to Jonson the idea of following in his royal master's footsteps. In a letter written to Drummond after his return, on 10th May, 1619,* Jonson says: "I am arrived safely, with a most Catholick Welcome, and my Reports not unacceptable to His Majesty. He professed (I thank God) some

* Drum., 1711 Folio, p. 154.

Joy to see me, and is pleased to hear of the Purpose of my Book." From what follows, the book would seem to have been an account of the history and antiquities of Scotland, for Jonson goes on to enquire about the inscriptions at Pinkie, the government of Edinburgh, and the differences between the customs of the University of St. Andrews and those of Edinburgh University. Besides collecting material for an official or semi-official book for James, Jonson seems to have been gathering copy for one or two works of his own. Thus he confided to Drummond that "He is to writt his foot Pilgrimage hither, and to call it a Discoverie", and also that "He heth intention to writt a fisher or pastorall play, and sett the stage of it in the Lowmond Lake".* The most probable reason, however, for Jonson suddenly breaking through all his habits was that a desire to wander seized him and he became discontented with his life in London. Some of the other reasons mentioned doubtless played their part, but this was the prime reason. In 1618 Jonson was at the height of his fame and reputation. In 1616 he had written the last stage-play which he was destined to write for nine years, and had produced a handsome and meticulously revised edition of his works. He must have felt more independent and free in 1618 than he had felt for a long time. Also some of the Scottish lords who frequented the English court may have issued a pressing invitation to him who was *de facto* the English poet-laureate to visit them in their northern homes.

* *Conv.*, section 16 (pp. 35, 36, *infra*).

Whatever caused Jonson to make his journey to Scotland, it certainly was not the desire to see Drummond. Bishop Sage, in the biography which he prefixed to the 1711 Folio edition of Drummond's Works (p. viii), says expressly that Jonson "came down to *Scotland* on Foot in the year 1619 on Purpose to visit him, and stay'd some Three or Four Weeks with him at *Hawthornden*". Every item in this sentence is open to question. It was certainly not in 1619 that Jonson went to Scotland; there is no evidence at all that Jonson and Drummond ever met or had had any kind of communication before they met in Edinburgh; and, though the exact duration of Jonson's stay at Hawthornden cannot be determined, it is much more likely to have been ten days or a fortnight than three or four weeks. Jonson had no intimate knowledge of Drummond, and did not take any trouble to avoid hurting his feelings. Thus he said to him,* "Sir W. Alexander was not half kinde unto him, and neglected him, because a friend to Drayton". Sir William Alexander was Drummond's greatest friend, Alexander calling Drummond 'Damon', and Drummond calling Alexander 'Alexis'. There is a very friendly and mutually complimentary series of letters between Drummond and Drayton extant. Yet Jonson mentioned Drayton four other times to Drummond, each time with a sneer, and saying on one occasion, "Drayton feared him, and he esteemed not of him".† From these passages it is clear that Jonson either knew so little about Drum-

* *Conv.* II (p. 15, *infra*). † *Conv.* II (p. 14, *infra*).

mond that he did not know that these men were his friends, or else cared so little about Drummond's feelings that he did not mind hurting them. Whichever was the case, it is not likely that Drummond was the "Magnetick Gentleman" who drew Jonson away from his library and his favourite tavern.

The exact date of Jonson's departure from London can only be conjectured. Jonson told Drummond* that "Tailor was sent along here to scorn him". This certainly implies that Taylor started his journey after Jonson was well on his way. Now we know from his *Pennylesse Pilgrimage* (published 1623) that Taylor commenced his journey on the 14th July, 1618, so that if we assume that Jonson left London some time in June we shall probably not be far wrong.

In an address "To all my Loving Adventurers" prefixed to *The Pennylesse Pilgrimage*, Taylor denies the charge made by "many shallow-brain'd Critickes" that he undertook his journey "either in malice or mockage of Master Benjamin Ionson . . . for he is a Gentleman, to whom I am so much obliged for many undeserved courtesies that I have receiued from him, and from others by his fauour, that I durst neuer to be so impudent or ungratefull as either to suffer any man's perswasions, or mine own instigation, to incite me, to make so bad a requitall for so much goodnesse formerly received". After spending five-and-thirty days in the Highlands, Taylor returned to Edinburgh in September, and there met Jonson. His description of their

* *Conv.* 18. See the note on the passage (p. 50).

meeting is so interesting that it is worth giving in full. "Now the day before I came from Edenborough I went to Leeth, where I found my long approued and assured good friend Master Beniamin Iohnson, at one Master Iohn Stuarts house: I thanke him for his great kindnesse towards me; for at my taking leaue of him, he gaue me a piece of gold of two and twenty shillings to drink his health in England; and withall, willed me to remember his kind commendations to all his friends: so with a friendly farewell, I left him as well, as I hope neuer to see him in a worse estate: for he is amongst Noblemen and Gentlemen that knowe his true worth, and their owne honours, where, with much respectiue loue, he is worthily entertained."* In a letter to Drummond dated London, 10th May, 1619, Jonson says: "Salute the beloved *Fentons*, the *Nisbets*, the *Scots*, the *Levingstons*, and all the Honest and Honoured Names with you; especially Mr. *James Writh*, his Wife, your Sister, &c."† These would appear to have been some of Jonson's Scottish hosts; and taken in conjunction with the passage quoted above from Taylor, these names show that many besides Drummond were delighted to welcome the most famous English man of letters to the Scottish capital. Not long after his arrival, on the 25th of September, 1618, Jonson was given the freedom of the city of Edinburgh, and on the 26th of October following he was entertained by the civic authorities to a

* Taylor's Works, 1630, folio edition, p. 138.
† Drummond, 1711 Folio, p. 155.

banquet, which, as appears from the treasurer's accounts, cost £221 6*s.* 4*d.* Scots money.

The exact date of Jonson's visit to Hawthornden cannot be determined. He left Leith on the 25th January, 1619,* and must have left Hawthornden before 17th January, when Drummond wrote him a note enclosing an epigram. Jonson retaliated with *The Hour-Glass* on 19th January. It is likely that Jonson visited Drummond about Christmas, 1618. The legend which depicts them as conversing beneath a sycamore tree (still pointed out) does not make sufficient allowance for the severity of the weather at Edinburgh in December and January. Jonson probably reached London in April, 1619; he wrote to Drummond on 10th May; Drummond wrote to him on the 1st July, and gave him much curious information about impresas and a copy of the oath of the old valiant Knights of Scotland. This seems to have concluded the correspondence between the two poets.

So ended Jonson's journey to Scotland. His experiences were still in his memory when he wrote *Newes from the New World discover'd in the Moone* (produced 6th January, 1621), for he alludes there to his journey to Edinburgh on foot. His journey provided him with material for a book and a pastoral play, now both lost. It provided us with these valuable *Conversations*, for long lost, but preserved for us by a happy accident.

* *Conv.* 18 (p. 53, *infra*).

* * * * * * * * * *

II. William Drummond of Hawthornden

William Drummond of Hawthornden was born on the 13th December, 1585. His father, Sir John Drummond, was laird of Hawthornden, and gentleman-usher to King James, being knighted when James succeeded to the English crown. Drummond's mother was Susannah Fowler, sister of William Fowler, who was secretary to Queen Anne, the queen-consort. Drummond was educated at the Edinburgh High School, and at Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.A. in 1605. In the following year he went to the Continent to study law, remaining some time in London on his way. He attended law lectures at Bourges and Paris, but his real interests lay in art and literature; he read all the best contemporary English and French authors, and in his letters gave a glowing account of some of the French picture galleries. When his father died in 1610, and left him at the age of twenty-five laird of Hawthornden, he abandoned the law, which he had never taken very seriously, and devoted himself to a life of study. Like most poets of the time, he composed a lament upon the death of Prince Henry; it was entitled *Tears on the Death of Mæliades*, and was published in 1613. Drummond became more and more of a recluse. In 1615 a tragedy occurred which overshadowed his life for many years. He fell in love with one Mary Cunningham of Barns,

and she died on the eve of their wedding. Drummond was prostrated with grief, and remained single for seventeen years. In 1616 he published a collection of poems, many of which were connected with his bereavement. In 1617 he wrote a poem entitled *The River of Forth Feasting*, in order to celebrate James's return to his northern kingdom. Late in the following year he met Ben Jonson, almost certainly for the first time. In 1612 and again in 1613 he had read "Ben Jhonson's Epigrams",* in what form it is uncertain, as the *Epigrams*, though licensed for publication in 1612, were not published until the 1616 folio edition of Jonson's Works. The events in Drummond's life which followed his entertainment of Jonson need only be briefly recapitulated. In 1620 he had a serious illness, and in 1623 he published a volume of lugubrious verse, *Flowers of Zion*, together with a melancholy prose tract, *A Cypresse Grove*. In 1627 a patent for various mechanical devices, mostly military appliances, was granted to Drummond. One of these appears to have been a kind of primitive tank (Ἁρμακεραυνός); another an alleged solution of the old problem of perpetual motion (Ἀεικινητός).† In the same year Drummond presented five hundred books to Edinburgh University. In 1632 he married Elizabeth Logan. He began to work upon his *History of the Lives and Reigns of the Five James's, Kings of Scotland, from the year 1423 until the year 1542*, which, however, was not published until after his death. In the stirring events before and

* Hawthornden MSS. † 1711 Folio, p. 235.

during the civil war, Drummond, though an ardent Royalist, took little part. He circulated a tract called *Irene* in 1638, in which he urged upon all parties the need for moderation. He wrote many political tracts of small literary value. The execution of King Charles I is said to have "killed his heart", and he died on 4th December, 1649.

From this slight sketch it is possible to gather something of what manner of man Jonson's host was. Although only thirty-three years old, and therefore thirteen years younger than his guest, he had been a recluse for a considerable time. He was a man of good family, a cousin of the Earl of Perth and a distant relation of the Royal House of Stewart. He had moved in high society. He had had a good education, had travelled, and was interested in French and Italian literature. He was not a scholar after Jonson's heart, but rather a dabbler in many intellectual interests, from writing lyrics down to inventing "Warlike Engines". Three years before Jonson's visit he had endured a great grief, which left him in a condition of gentle melancholy. It is, then, hardly to be wondered at that Jonson, who was a plebeian, a Bohemian, a self-educated classical scholar, and (being in a holiday mood) in exceptionally high animal spirits, proved himself a somewhat irritating visitor.

In one of his works Drummond has sketched his own character with an uncommon amount of self-knowledge: "Meis libris, meis oculis contentus, a puero usque infra fortunam vivere didici; et quantum

possum apud me habitans, nihil extra me aut suspiro aut ambio". Complete self-centredness is the keynote of Drummond's character. His estate, his books, and his thoughts made up his world. He has left us an account of some of his books, and the number of volumes in each language throws some light upon the bent of his mind. He had 267 Latin books (many, of course, modern), 35 Greek, 11 Hebrew, 61 Italian, 8 Spanish, 120 French, and 50 English. Into his secluded retreat Ben Jonson burst, burly, bibulous, and boasting, trampling on many of his ideals, and exposing the clay feet of many of his idols. The wonder is, not that the notes of the conversations are as unkind as they are in a few places, but that they are as unbiassed as they are almost everywhere.

Gifford's contention that Drummond lured poor unsuspecting Ben under his roof in order to murder his reputation is too absurd a theory to be stated in full or confuted in detail. Nothing is more certain than that Drummond wrote his notes for his own satisfaction—he was an inveterate note-taker—and that he did not intend them for publication. The dates alone are sufficient to show this. The conversations took place in December, 1618, or January, 1619, Jonson died on the 6th of August, 1637, and Drummond survived him twelve years. The *Conversations* were never printed until 1711, when they appeared in an abridged form.

Drummond probably met Jonson at Edinburgh in the house of a mutual friend. He had, of course,

heard of him as a leading playwright, and had read some of his *Epigrams*. He asked him to visit him at Hawthornden, and when Jonson came Drummond found that familiarity bred a certain amount of contempt. The two men were antagonistic, and of different nationalities. Still a certain friendliness sprang up. Jonson was candid in his criticism of Drummond's poems, and Drummond scrupulously honest in recording that criticism. Drummond has also recorded with great candour that * "He said to me, that I was too good and simple, and that oft a mans modestie made a fool of his witt". Jonson's remark shows that he had summed up Drummond's diffident but by no means unattractive character, and the naïve way in which Drummond has put this down makes us respect him more. Indeed his notes are surprisingly fair; he has extenuated nothing, but he has set down naught in malice. That the intercourse between the two men was not altogether a failure is shown not only by the stately compliments (after all more or less conventional) in their correspondence, but by the fact that "If he (Jonson) died by the way, he promised to send me his papers of this Country, hewen as they were".† Jonson must have made many friends in Scotland, and he would not have singled out Drummond from among them as the recipient of his posthumous papers had he not felt a genuine regard for the man.

* *Conv.* 17 (p. 48, *infra*). † *Conv.* 18 (p. 53, *infra*).

* * * * * * * * * *

III. The Text of the "Conversations"

For over ninety years Drummond's notes of his conversations with Ben Jonson remained neglected among the numerous manuscripts at Hawthornden. In the year 1711 appeared "The Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden. Consisting of Those which were formerly Printed and Those which were design'd for the Press. Now Published from the Author's Original Copies. Edinburgh, Printed by *James Watson*, in *Craig*'s Closs." This folio edition, which contains much new material, was edited by the grammarian Thomas Ruddiman, and has prefixed to it a Life of William Drummond of Hawthornden by the non-juring bishop John Sage. Both of these men, Sage and Ruddiman, were redoubtable Jacobites, and as Drummond at this time enjoyed a larger reputation for his political than for his poetical effusions, it is to be conjectured that an ulterior motive lay behind the publication of this folio edition. Be that as it may, on pp. 224, 225, and 226 of this book is printed "Heads of a Conversation betwixt the Famous Poet Ben Johnson, and William Drummond of Hawthornden, January 1619". The editors of the Drummond Folio must have considered this an attractive item in their book, for it is twice alluded to in the introductory matter. In the Preface Ruddiman says: "There is also printed The chief Heads of a Conversation betwixt our Author, and the famous Poet Ben. Johnson". Bishop Sage in "The Author's Life" makes a detailed

reference to the meeting of Jonson and Drummond and their conversations: "He (Drummond) had great Intimacy and Correspondence with the Two Famous *English* poets *Michael Drayton* and *Ben Johnson*: The First, in an Elogy on the *English* Poets, makes very honourable Mention of him; the other came down to *Scotland* on Foot in the Year 1619 on Purpose to visit him, and stay'd some Three or Four Weeks with him at *Hawthornden*. In their Conversation there was a deal of Learning, Wit and Innocent Mirth. The Heads of the Conversation is still remaining under our Author's own Hand. 'Tis true, they were very frank and free together: *Ben Johnson* is very liberal of his Censures upon Ancient Authors: He does not miss himself, and gives large Accounts of his own Wildness and Extravagancies; and for his Cotemporaries, the *English* Poets, he 's very severe on them, and never spares them, when he can in the least attack them. And this is no extraordinary Thing; for *Scaliger*, *Perron*, *Menage* &c. have done the like: For the Critics are generally a Set of Men very vain and fond of their own Productions, but in others they are rather ready to pick out some small Faults, than to commend those Things which really deserve Praise. I have published among our Author's other Tracts, some of the most remarkable Passages of their Conversation, for the Use and Benefit of the curious Reader" (page viii). The editors of Drummond's Works gave a not unfair abridgment of the *Conversations*; unfortunately they were not always judicious in

their selection of the most remarkable passages. After the fashion of editors, they manipulated their material somewhat ruthlessly to suit their purpose. One of their devices (a quite legitimate or even laudable one) was to bring together the scattered jottings about each author. Unluckily for both Jonson and Drummond, they thus brought together two separate passages about Shakespeare, linking them with the statement that Shakespeare wanted "sometimes Sense"—a criticism not altogether untrue, as it does not mean that Shakespeare was sometimes a fool, but that he sometimes wrote lines devoid of meaning. This passage about Shakespeare attained a notoriety quite out of proportion to the fame of the rest of the *Conversations*. Moreover, a literary hack named Robert Shiels, when reprinting some extracts from the *Conversations* in Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, added some splenetic remarks of his own, as if they were Drummond's, in which he contrasted Jonson unfavourably with Shakespeare. The *Conversations* were used as a stick to belabour both Jonson and Drummond; Jonson as an envious and malignant enemy of Shakespeare's, and Drummond as a treacherous and spiteful friend of Jonson's. Sober scholars contented themselves with wishing that Drummond's notes had been preserved in their original form.

In November, 1782, the Reverend Dr. Abernethy Drummond (who had married the heiress of Hawthornden, the poet's great grand-daughter, and assumed the name of Drummond) gave a large mass of Drummond's manuscripts to the Society of Antiquaries of

Scotland. These manuscripts lay neglected and unexamined for upwards of forty years, until in 1827 the antiquary David Laing, at that time Secretary of the Bannatyne Club and subsequently Librarian to the Society of Writers to the Signet, undertook to examine them. He did so the more eagerly because he hoped to find the manuscript copy of the *Conversations with Ben Jonson* in their unabridged form. He was disappointed in his quest, although he found a stray leaf in Vol. IX of the Hawthornden MSS., which was probably the envelope of the original, and which was endorsed in the handwriting of Drummond's son "Informations & Manners of Ben Jonson to W. D., 1619," and "Informations be Ben Jonston to W. D., when he cam to Scotland upon foot, 1619". This envelope only served to whet Laing's curiosity, and when he read a paper upon the Hawthornden MSS. to the Society of Antiquaries on 14th January, 1828, he expressed his regret that he had not brought to light the original manuscript of the *Conversations*.

Not long after this Laing was examining some of the MSS. of Sir Robert Sibbald of Kipps (1641–1722), a famous antiquary, and one of the founders of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. Sibbald's manuscripts and many of his printed books were bought by the Faculty of Advocates at a public auction on Tuesday, 5th February, 1723, for the sum of £342, 17*s*. Among these manuscripts was a collection of Adversaria, and here Laing was surprised and delighted to find an exact and literal transcript of Drummond's

original notes. The volume of Adversaria has 65 leaves in it altogether, and the transcript of the *Conversations* occupies from leaf 25 verso to leaf 31 recto. The rest of the volume is occupied with miscellaneous notes, some notes on old coins, and "Letters written to me by Doctor John Smith, Prebend of Durham, with my Answers, and some of Mr. James Anderson's to him. In which there are severall curious accounts of matters relating both to our Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories, with the copies of some ancient Charters." There is no doubt that Sibbald's transcript, which is written in his own hand, is an absolutely trustworthy copy. Sibbald was an indefatigable antiquary, and a man of great accuracy. Moreover, the title which he places at the head of his transcript exactly corresponds with the titles given on the stray leaf of Vol. IX of the Hawthornden MSS. He himself was probably responsible for the additional title "Ben Ionsiana", interlined apparently at a subsequent time. Another piece of evidence as to Sibbald's scrupulous accuracy may be found in section 3 (pp. 5 and 6 of the text below). By a slip of the pen Sibbald copied the sentence "That next himself only Fletcher and Chapman could make a Mask" in its wrong position. With these collections of disjointed sayings it would not have greatly mattered had one got out of place. Sibbald, however, is careful to number five entries to show what their original order was. It may be said that Sibbald's manuscript is only a trifling degree less authoritative than Drummond's original manuscript would have been.

SIR ROBERT SIBBALD

Mihi parta laus est, quod tu, quod similes tui
Vestras in chartas verba transfertis mea
Dignumque longa iudicatis memoria.

PHAEDRUS, *Fables*, Prologue to Book IV.

It is not quite evident how Sibbald came to have the loan of Drummond's notes, but he was a friend of Bishop Sage's, and in 1696 Thomas Ruddiman received £3 for assisting through the press Sir Robert Sibbald's *Introductio ad Historiam Rerum a Romanis gestarum, in ea Borealis Britanniae parte quae ultra murum Picticum est; in qua veterum in hac plaga incolarum nomina et sedes explicantur.* Sibbald probably borrowed and transcribed the manuscript simply on account of the literary information it contained. We cannot discover the exact date of Sibbald's transcription, but it was probably done before 1710, when the antiquary was in his seventieth year, and when Sage and Ruddiman were seeing Drummond's Works through the press. Nor can we ascertain the exact date of Laing's fortunate discovery of Sibbald's manuscript, though we know it was between 14th January, 1828, when Laing expressed regret at having failed to find the MS., and 1st March, 1831, when Sir Walter Scott dated his Introduction to *Kenilworth*, in which he quoted from Sir Robert Sibbald's MS. the story of the Earl of Leicester and the bottle of poison.* Laing communicated his find to the Society of Antiquaries in a paper read on 9th January, 1832. He subsequently printed the *Conversations* with notes in *Archaeologia Scotica* (Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), Vol. IV, and edited them, with revised notes and additional notes by Peter Cunningham and John Payne Collier for the Shakespeare Society's series of publications, in 1842.

* *Conv.* 14 (p. 31, *infra*).

It is interesting but not of supreme importance to examine the differences between the text of the Folio and that of the MS. It is not a matter of great moment, as in almost every instance of a divergence between the two authorities the MS. has the superior reading. I have noted all the important variations in my critical apparatus, so will content myself here with drawing attention to a few typical instances of the manner in which the Folio varies :—

(1) It has the ordinary misprints which are incident to all books :

Page *	Folio	MS. Reading
1	*Chorologia*	Heroologia
11	*Ochadine*	Chaine
13	*Plautus*	Tacitus
17	sure	sorrie
56	vindicive	vindicative

(2) It modernizes archaisms of vocabulary or inflexion :

Page*	Folio	MS. Reading
1	*Poetry*	Poesie
1	detested	detesteth (a common change)
13	resolved to destroy	seeketh to destroy
25	Plague	pest
25	cut	cutted

(3) It has a few improvements or corrections :

Page*	Folio	MS. Reading
1	*his Country*	this Country
13	*Polity* (the correct title)	historie
21	poor	pure
36	*Heart* of Scotland	part of Scotland
56	over-mastered	ever mastered

* This refers to the text below.

With regard to the passages which the editors of the Folio omitted, they are much what one would expect to find missing. There are some doubts as to the validity of the consecration of Bishop Sage, but he was at any rate enough of a bishop to expunge some of Ben's frank confessions and coarse jokes. In this edition I have marked with a double line in the margin those passages which do not occur in the Folio, so that it is possible to see at a glance for how much of the *Conversations* Sibbald's MS. is the sole authority. The omissions of the Folio may be classified as follows (the examples are intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive):

(1) Trivialities. It does not give Jonson's list of rogues and fools (p. 6).

(2) Jokes. The whole of section 17, "Of his Jeasts and Apothegms", is left out.

(3) Very personal matters, whether about Drummond or Jonson. It omits the books which Jonson recommended to Drummond's reading (p. 2), and the "most common place" of Jonson's repetition (p. 9).

(4) Coarse passages, even when interesting. The Folio omits "5 yeers he had not bedded with her, but remained with my Lord Aulbanie" (p. 24); also the details about Queen Elizabeth (p. 30).

(5) In one place at least the editors of the Folio have omitted a phrase that might have offended English susceptibilities. They

have left out the words "and countrymen" on p. 56.

One of the most noticeable features of the Folio I have already remarked upon; that is, the way in which it has sorted and rearranged all its material. Criticisms of one man have been carefully gathered into one place.

* * * * * * * * * *

IV. Interest and Importance of the "Conversations"

Laing did scant justice to the *Conversations* when he described them as "a literary document of considerable interest". They are, in truth, a document of the utmost importance. They are the chief source for facts about Jonson's life, and they are one of the chief sources of information about his character. As regards Jonson's contemporaries, there is information of a valuable if somewhat gossipy sort about many of them. The very frankness of the *Conversations* adds to their value. Mr. Sneer's proviso that there should be "no scandal about Queen Elizabeth"* has not been attended to. We may well be grateful for the more or less fortuitous preservation of a document which gives us so many vivid details about all sorts and conditions of men, from the Virgin Queen herself down to "rogues" like Day and Dekker, "base fellows" like Markham, and "poor pedantique" schoolmasters, like Owen. It

* *The Critic*, Act II, Sc. 1.

is permissible to wish that Jonson had said more about his boon-companions at the Mermaid and less about his fashionable patrons; he was probably making his conversation suit the taste of his aristocratic host, and at the same time boasting with pardonable pride of his high-born acquaintances. It is better to be thankful for the priceless collection of gossip which we owe to Drummond, to Sibbald, and to Laing. It is not necessary to enlarge upon the importance of the *Conversations*. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* almost all the articles which deal with men and women whom Jonson mentioned to Drummond contain a reference to Jonson's remarks. We learn much from the *Conversations* that we should otherwise be ignorant of.

There is one interesting point to which I should like to draw attention. Jonson was always fond of applying to his contemporaries criticisms taken or adapted from the classics.* The most famous instances of this are the passages about Bacon and Shakespeare in *Discoveries*. These criticisms are really adaptations of the elder Seneca's remarks about Cassius Severus and Haterius. This trick of modernizing ancient authors became such a habit with Jonson that he did it even in his table-talk. There are four examples of it in the *Conversations*, all taken from Quintilian:

> *Conv.*, p. 3: "That Michael Draytons Polyabion (if [he] had performed what he promised to

* A copy of Scriverius' *Martial* (1619) which belonged to Jonson has been preserved. Against the phrase "invidus ecce negat" in Bk. IV, Epig. 27, Jonson has written in the margin the one word "Inigo" (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, April, 1907).

writte the deeds of all the worthies) had been excellent".

Inst. Or., X. 1. 89: Si tamen, ut est dictum, ad exemplar primi libri bellum Siculum perscripsisset, vindicaret sibi iure secundum locum.

Conv., p. 6: "that he thought not Bartas a Poet but a Verser".

Inst. Or., X. 1. 89: Cornelius autem Severus, etiamsi versificator quam poeta melior.

Conv., p. 7: "That Lucan, taken in parts, was good divided".

Inst. Or., X. 1. 88 (of Ovid): laudandus tamen in partibus.

Conv., p. 14: "That Francis Beaumont loved too much himself and his own verses".

Inst. Or., X. 1. 88 (of Ovid): nimium amator ingenii sui.

These passages show how Jonson carried the classics in solution in his brain, and expressed himself in the words of Quintilian even when indulging in an ordinary fireside conversation.

* * * * * * * * * * *

V. Previous Editions of the "Conversations"

The *Conversations*, in their complete form, as transcribed by Sir Robert Sibbald, have appeared in print

five times. Laing edited them for the Society of Antiquaries (*Archaeologia Scotica*, Vol. IV), and for the Shakespeare Society (1842). The latter edition, though long out of print, may be said to be the standard edition. Lieut.-Col. Francis Cunningham printed the *Conversations* twice at the end of Jonson's Works; once in his three-volume edition of 1871, and once in his nine-volume edition of 1875. In 1900 appeared an edition of the *Conversations* with Introduction and Notes by Philip Sidney, F.R.Hist.S.

To Laing we owe a deep debt for his recovery of the *Conversations*. His edition is a sound piece of work, but it leaves something to be desired. He has not attempted to explain a large number of difficulties. He shakes our faith at the outset by calling (in the *Archaeologia Scotica* version) the famous passage about the sea-coast of Bohemia "Jonson's observation in regard to *The Tempest*"!! He imagines that the translation of Musaeus by Chapman to which Jonson refers (p. 21, *infra*) is Chapman's completion of Marlowe's poem. He does not see that the "Earle of Worster" (p. 22) should be "Earle of Leister". He thinks that Jonson addressed a poem (*Epigram to the Small-pox*) to Sir Philip Sidney's mother, who died when Jonson was fourteen. In his Index he puts Sir John Heyward instead of Edward Heyward, gives Middleton's Christian name as John, instead of Thomas, and fails to distinguish between the second and the third Earl of Essex. Worst of all, on at least six occasions he is content to print nonsense.

Laing's Reading	Correct Reading
p. 9.* Parabostes Pariane.	Feraboscos Pauane (emended by R. F. P.).
p. 27. cwd-piece.	cod-piece (MS. reading).
p. 36. Παρεργους.	Παρεργως (MS. reading).
p. 43. the more yow out of it.	the more yow cut of it (MS. reading).
p. 50. The epigrame of Martial· Vir verpium.	The epigrame of Martial XI in Verpum (emended by R. F. P.).
p. 51. quintessence.	quintessenceth (emended by R. F. P.).

Cunningham's two editions may be considered as one, the later being a very slightly improved reprint of the earlier. He has quite obviously not examined the manuscript, but has contented himself with reprinting Laing's text, mistakes and all, and adding a few errors on his own account. In his notes he has occasionally corrected Laing. He has given a correct account of Chapman's translation of Musaeus. He has seen the error in the "Earle of Worster". He has corrected the mistakes in Laing's Index, but has promoted Lord Aubigny to be an earl, and in endeavouring to distinguish between the second and the third Earl of Essex has called them the first and the second. In the main he has taken his notes from Laing, and has not been fortunate in his additions to them. In one place (p. 471 of the 3-vol. edition) he cites as an example of Donne's "not keeping of accent" a poem which, as Jonson himself tells us in the *Conversations*, and as Cunningham acknowledges in his note, is really by Sir John Roe! Many of his notes are discursive

* The reference is to the present edition.

and of no help in elucidating difficulties. Thus in his note on the passage about Jonson's mother and the poison he says: "The old mother producing the paper of 'lustie strong poison' before Camden and Selden and Jonson would make a fine subject for a painter"; and in connection with Jonson's lost fisher or pastoral play he writes: "Here again is another opening for deep regret. Jonson evidently fully appreciated Highland scenery, thereby upsetting the theory of Macaulay that the taste for such matters depended on roads, bridges, snug beds, and good dinners (see *Hist.*, Chap. XIII)". Notes like these are not at all helpful. The note upon the passage "He dissuaded me from Poetrie"* (too long to reproduce) is a model of what a note should not be, being both tedious and inapposite. Cunningham cannot be said to have made any solid contribution to our knowledge of the *Conversations*. He merely reproduced Laing's text and amplified Laing's notes, correcting them in one or two places.

Sidney's edition has considerable claims to being the worst edition of anything that was ever permitted to go out from the press. The editor was quite evidently unacquainted with the Works of Drummond and of Jonson alike, as well as with Elizabethan history and literature in general. He has failed to recognize the duties and responsibilities of an editor. His text is by way of being a modernization of Laing's, at which he levels an unworthy and quite gratuitous sneer, but he

* Section 18 (p. 51; *infra*).

introduces numerous original errors. His extremely sketchy Introduction is quite worthless. His scanty and perfunctory notes explain things which need no explanation, and skilfully pass by the numerous real difficulties. To crown everything, there are no fewer than thirty-six misprints in this edition. It is quite plain that the editor knew no Latin, as six of these mistakes occur in the few Latin words which are in the *Conversations*. To end this Introduction in a lighter vein, I shall give some of the most amusing of his errors.

	Sidney's Reading	Correct Reading
p. 6.*	because he wrote fiction.[1]	because he wrote not Fiction.
p. 9.	Lady Bedford's luck.[2]	Lady Bedfoords bucke.
p. 39.	"Fire", said he. "That (fire) is my bedfellow".[3]	Fire (said he), that is my play-fellow.
p. 40.	the best banquets were those where they ministered no musicians to chase time.[4]	the best banquets were those wher they mistered no musi-tians to chase tym.
p. 45.	a scholar . . . said of hot breath that he would make the danger of it.[5]	A schollar . . . said of hott broath, that he would make the danger of it.

* The reference is to the present edition.

[1] The addition or omission of the word 'not' makes a considerable difference to the meaning of a sentence, as the "subtleties of the legal mind" of the Lord Chancellor enabled him to discover at the end of *Iolanthe*. For this reason the word 'not' was always written in block letters in Operation Orders in the army (see *Field Service Regulations*, Chapter II, § 16, para. 7). In 1631 the King's Printers, Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, were fined £3,000 for omitting the word 'not' in that edition of the Bible which was afterwards known as the "Wicked Bible". The omission occurred in the seventh commandment (*Exodus*, xx. 14).

[2] As this poem is preserved (*Epigram* 84), it is not difficult to trace the allusion.

[3] "Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows", but hardly with so strange a one as fire.

[4] Any fair-sized dictionary would have enlightened the editor upon the meaning of 'mistered'.

[5] The breath must have been like that of Launce's sweetheart, who was "not to be kissed fasting, in respect of her breath" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act III, Sc. 1, line 329).

SIGLA

S. = Sir Robert Sibbald's MS. copy of the *Conversations*, preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

F. = The 1711 Folio Edition of Drummond's Works ("The Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden. Consisting of Those which were formerly Printed and Those which were design'd for the Press. Now Published from the Author's Original Copies. Edinburgh, Printed by *James Watson*, in *Craig*'s Closs").

R. F. P. = The conjectural emendations of the present editor.

Folio 25 verso / refers to the leaves of Sibbald's MS.

For the passages thus marked (with a double line) Sibbald's MS. is the sole authority.

The references to Jonson's poems make use of Gifford's numbering, not because his arrangement of the poems is a satisfactory one, but because his edition is hitherto unsupplanted. For the same reasons of convenience Gifford's quite ingenious nomenclature for some of the Masques has been used.

"A textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motions of the planets: he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas. If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique."

Professor A. E. Housman. (Paper on "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," read to the Classical Association Thursday, August 4th, 1921.)

Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden

Folio 25 verso

Ben Ionsiana

Informations be Ben Johnston to W. D. when he came to Scotland upon foot 1619.

Certain informations and maners of Ben Johnsons to W. Drumond.

i. That he had ane intention to perfect ane Epick Poeme intitled Heroologia, of the Worthies of his Country, rowsed by Fame, and was to dedidicate it to his Country, it is all in Couplets, for he detesteth all other Rimes. Said he had written a discourse of Poesie 5

[l. 1, ane intention to perfect, S.; a Design to write, F. [l. 2, Heroologia, S.; *Chorologia*, F. [l. 2, *his Country*, F.; this Country, S. [l. 3, rowsed, S.; raised, F. [l. 4, detesteth, S.; detested, F. [l. 5, Poesie, S.; *Poetry*, F.

Ionsiana. Probably Sibbald's invention. The earliest example given by the N.E.D. for a word of this termination is *Scaligeriana* (1666).

Heroologia. This title was taken afterwards by Henry Holland, who in 1620 published his "Herωologia Anglica, hoc est Clarissimorum et Doctissimorum aliquot Anglorum qui floruerunt ab anno Christi M.D. usque ad presentem annum, M. D. C. XX. Vivae effigies, vitae, et elogia".

his Country, the reading of the Folio, is preferable to *this Country*, which would mean Scotland.

both against Campion and Daniel, especially this last, wher he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of verses, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters; and that crosse Rimes and Stanzaes (becaus the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced.

2. He recommended to my reading Quintilian (who (he said) would tell me the faults of my Verses as if he had lived with me) and Horace, Plinius 2dus Epistles, Tacitus, Juvenall, Martiall; whose Epigrame Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem etc. he heth translated.

Censure of Sidney

3. His Censure of the English poets was this, that Sidney did not keep a Decorum in making every one speak as well as himself.

[l. 6, this last, S.; the last, F. [l. 7, bravest, S.; best, F. [l. 8, broken, S.; broke, F. [l. 10, to conclude, not in F.

Campion. "Observations in the Art of English Poesie. Wherein it is demonstratively prooved, and by example confirmed, that the English toong will receive eight severall kinds of numbers, proper to it selfe, which are all in this booke set forth, and were never before this time by any man attempted. 1602."

Daniel. "A Defence of Ryme: Against a Pamphlet entituled: Observations in the Art of English Poesie. wherein is demonstratively proved, that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of words that comportes with our Language" (n.d.). Daniel's book was an attack on the Latinist school, of which Gabriel Harvey was a leader. Amongst many remarks likely to rouse Jonson is this: "Our understandings are not all to be built by the square of Greece and Italy".

Quintilian. It is interesting to compare this list with the list of creditors for *Discoveries*; where there are 25 extracts from Quintilian, 4 from Pliny the Younger, 4 from Horace, and occasional quotations from Juvenal and Martial.

Vitam quae faciunt. Martial, Book X, Epig. 47. *faciant* is the more usual reading. See below, section 5 (p. 10). Farnaby (1615), the edition used in all probability by Jonson, reads *faciunt*; it is apparently a standard reading in the old editions. A copy of Jonson's translation was discovered by J. P. Collier at Dulwich. It is in Jonson's writing, and is a fairly good example of what Dr. Johnson called Ben's "absurd labour of construing into rhyme". Martial was always a prime favourite with Jonson, and *Epigram* 36 is addressed to the Ghost of Martial.

keep a Decorum. This same criticism is applied to Guarini on page 7 and to Lucan,

Spencer

Spencers stanzaes pleased him not, nor his matter, the meaning of which Allegorie he had delivered in papers to Sir Walter Raughlie.

Sam: Daniel

Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children; bot no poet.

That Michael Draytons Polyabion (if [he] had performed what he promised to writte the deeds of all the worthies) had been excellent: || His long verses || pleased him not.

Silvester

That Silvesters translation of Du Bartas was not well done, and that he wrote his verses before it err

[l. 21, which Allegorie, S.; the Allegory of his *Fairy Queen*, F. [l. 22, papers, S.; Writing, F. [l. 26, promised to writte the deeds of all the worthies), S.; promised, to write the Deeds of all the Worthies, F. [l. 30, before it err, S.; before, F.

Sidney, and Guarini on page 51. Jonson in his *Sad Shepherd* has avoided this error by making some of his characters (especially Maudlin and Lorel) speak in North Country dialect. In *A Tale of a Tub* West Country dialect is used.

Allegorie. This remark is repeated on page 17, with some additions. It is discussed more fully there.

if [he] had performed, cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.*, X. 1. 89, si tamen, ut est dictum, ad exemplar primi libri bellum Siculum perscripsisset, vindicaret sibi iure secundum locum.

Polyabion. "Poly-Olbion or a Chorographicall Description of Tracts, Rivers, Mountaines, Forests, and other Parts of this renowned Isle of Great Britaine, With intermixture of the most Remarquable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Raritves, Pleasures, and Commodities of the Same: Digested in a Poem by Michael Drayton, Esq. . . . 1613." Jonson expresses a much more favourable opinion of this poem in *Und.* 16, where he says he was ravished with every song. *Polyolbion* is written in rhyming couplets of twelve-syllabled lines.

Du Bartas. "Bartas his Divine weekes and workes translated and dedicated to the King's most excellent Majestie by Josuah Sylvester," 1605–6. Jonson's poem is *Epig.* 132. Du Bartas, who died of wounds received at the battle of Ivry, July, 1590, was admired as a Huguenot poet, and in opposition to Ronsard. Milton knew and imitated Sylvester's version. In his Epigram Jonson speaks of his praise as

> the child of ignorance
> And utter stranger to all air of France,

and goes on to say "they can only judge, that can confer". Bartas was read by Drummond in 1609. The translation is in rhymed decasyllabic verse.

of ye translation of Homer and Virgill

he understood to conferr. Nor that of Fairfax his.

That the translations of Homer and Virgill in long Alexandrines were but prose.

Harington

That John Haringtons Ariosto, under all translations, was the worst. That when Sir John Harrington desyred him to tell the truth of his Epigrames, he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were Narrations and not Epigrames.

Warner

That Warner, since the Kings comming to England, had marred all his Albions England.

[l. 31, Nor that of Fairfax his, S.; and these of *Fairfax* were not good, F. [l. 34, John Haringtons, S.; Sir *John Harrington's*, F.

Fairfax. "Godfrey of Bulloigne or the Recouerie of Ierusalem. Done into English heroicall verse by Edward Fairefax, Gent." (1600). This is a folio edition dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. King James was said to have valued Fairfax's Tasso above all other English poetry.

Homer. "The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets. Never before in any language truely translated. With a comment on some of his chiefe places" (1611). Chapman's famous translation was published as follows: Books 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 in 1598; 18 (Achilles' Shield), 1598; Twelve Books of Iliad, 1609. The 1611 edition was the first complete Iliad.

Virgill. "The Seven first bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill converted in Englishe meter by Thomas Phaer, Sollicitor to the King and Queenes Majesties, attending their honourable counsaile in the Marches of Wales" (1558). Also "The Thirteen bookes of Aeneidos translated by Thomas Phaer" (1583). (Completed by Thomas Twyne, i.e. books 11 to 13.)

Harington. "Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse, by Sir John Harington of Bathe, Knight" (1591). This translation, a penance imposed by Queen Elizabeth on 'that saucy poet, my godson', is easy, flowing, and undistinguished.

Epigrames. "The most elegant and witty Epigrams of Sir John Harrington, digested into foure Bookes, three whereof never before published" (1618). An earlier edition was published in 1615.

Narrations and not Epigrames. The same criticism is passed on Owen on page 21.

Warner. Chiefly famous for his translation of the *Menaechmi*, 1595. "Albions England. Or Historical Map of the same Island: prosecuted from the Lives, Actes, and Labors of Saturne, Jupiter, Hercules and Aeneas: Originalles of the Bruton and Englishmen, and occasion of the Brutons their first aryvall in Albion. . . . With Historicall Intermixtures, Invention and Varietie proffitably, briefly, and pleasantly performed in Verse and Prose" (1586). The first edition recounted the history of England from

Donne

That Dones Anniversarie was profane and full of Blasphemies: that he told Mr Donne, if it had been written of the Virgin Marie it had been something; *Folio 26 recto* to which he answered, that he described / the Idea of a Woman, and not as she was.

That Done, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging.

of Fletcher and Chapman

That next himself only Fletcher and Chapman could make a Mask.

of Shakspear

That Shakspear wanted Arte.

[l. 41, That Dones, S.; He told *Donne*, That his, F. [l. 43, of the Virgin, S.; on the Virgin, F. [l. 43, something, S.; tolerable, F. [l. 50, wanted Arte. F. adds 'and sometimes Sense'.

the time of Noah to that of William the Conqueror; the second (1589) went down to Henry VII; the third (1592) to Elizabeth's accession. The last edition (1612) (Warner died 1609) was published "with the most chief Alterations and Accidents . . . in the . . . raigne of . . . King James". This poem is in fourteen-syllable couplets.

Anniversarie. "Anatomie of the World, wherein by occasion of the untimely death of Mistris Elizabeth Drury the frailty and decay of this whole World is represented. The first anniversary" (1611). (p. 211 of 1639 edition.) Cunningham most unluckily cites as an example of Donne's not keeping of accent the "Lines to Ben Jonson", dated 6th January, 1603 (1639 ed., p. 207) which, as section 11 (p. 15) tells us, and as Cunningham himself confesses in a note on that passage, were really by Sir John Roe.

Fletcher. No masque by Fletcher has been preserved.

Chapman. Only one masque by Chapman survives, "The memorable Maske of the two Honorable Houses or Innes of Court, the Middle Temple and Lyncolnes Inne. As it was performd before the King at White-Hall on Shrove Munday at night, being the 15. of February 1613. At the Princely celebration of the most Royall Nuptialls of the Palsgrave and his thrice gratious Princesse Elizabeth."

That Shakspear wanted Arte. Probably the most notorious sentence in the *Conversations*. Yet in Jonson's sense of the word art the contention is fair, and he compensates for this criticism by saying in the lines he prefixed to the First Folio:

> Yet must I not giue Nature all: Thy Art,
> My gentle Shakespeare, must enioy a part.

Laing's remark that this passage is very improperly connected with Jonson's subsequent observation in regard to *The Winter's Tale* is not quite just. The editors of the 1711 folio of Drummond's Works were quite within their rights in grouping together all the remarks about Shakespeare, as they did this in the case of most other writers, e.g. Donne, of whom five scattered criticisms in Sibbald's

of Sharpham, Day and Dicker, Minshew

of Abram Francis

That Sharpham, Day, Dicker, were all rogues and that Minshew was one.

That Abram Francis in his English Hexameters was a foole.

of Bartas

4. His judgement of Stranger Poets was that he thought not Bartas a Poet but a Verser, because he wrote not Fiction.

of Petrarch

He cursed Petrarch for redacting verses to Sonnets, which he said were like that Tirrants bed, wher some who were too short were racked, others too long cut short.

[l. 58, to Sonnets, S.; into Sonnets, F. [l. 59, were like, S.; was like, F. [l. 60, some who were, S.; some who where, Laing, &c.

version are gathered together in the Folio. The editors were merely acting after their kind.

Sharpham. Ed. Sharpham, a member of the Middle Temple, wrote two comedies, or rather farces, under the influence of Middleton, *The Fleire* (1607) and *Cupid's Whirligig* (1607).

Day. John Day's three plays (all acted by the Children of the Revels) are *The Ile of Guls* (1606), *Humour out of Breath* (1608), and *Law-Trickes, or who would have thought it?* (1608).

Dicker. Thomas Dekker, the Demetrius of *Poetaster* and collaborator in *Satiromastix*, wrote at least the main part of nine plays and collaborated in many others.

Minshew. John Minsheu (fl. 1617) is famous for his "'Ηγεμὼν εἰς τὰς γλώσσας, id est Ductor in Linguas, the Guide into Tongues", London, 1617, folio, containing equivalents in eleven languages. It seems to have been the first English book printed by subscription.

Abram Francis. Abraham Fraunce, a distinguished lawyer and admirer of Sidney, wrote *The Lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis, paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English Hexameteres*, 1587, and *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch* (three parts, 1591, 1591, and 1592), all in English hexameters. Fraunce belonged to Gabriel Harvey's school.

Bartas, &c. This criticism seems to be the thought of Aristotle expressed in the language of Quintilian. Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX, ὁ γὰρ ἱστορικὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ τῷ ἢ ἔμμετρα λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα διαφέρουσιν . . . ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ τὸν μὲν τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τὸν δὲ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο; and Quintilian, *Inst. Or.*, X. 1. 89, Cornelius autem Severus, etiamsi versificator quam poeta melior.

Sonnets. Jonson sometimes wrote sonnets himself, however: *Epig.* 56, *On Poet-Ape*; *Und.* 25 and 47; and Prologue for the Court to *The Staple of News*.

that Tirrants bed. Sir Sidney Lee has pointed out (*Athenæum*, July 9th, 1904) that Jonson is here merely repeating in his own

of Guarini

That Guarini, in his Pastor Fido, keept not decorum, in making Shepherds speek as well as himself could.

of Lucan

That Lucan, taken in parts, was good divided, read alltogidder merited not the name of a Poet.

of Bonefonius

That Bonefonius Vigilium Veneris was excellent.

of Cardinall Perron

That he told Cardinal de Perron, at his being in France, anno 1613, who shew him his translations of Virgill, that they were naught.

[l. 62, keept not decorum, S.; kept no *Decorum*, F. [l. 63, himself could, S.; himself, F. [l. 67, de Perron, S.; *Du Peron*, F. [l. 67, at his being in France, S.; when he was in *France*, F. [l. 68, shew, S.; shewed, F. [l. 68, translations, S.; Translation, F. [l. 69, they were naught, S.; it was naught, F.

language the comment of Stefano Guazzo, an eminent Italian contemporary, who in the seventh dialogue of his *Dialoghi Piaceuoli* (1587 edition, p. 197) makes one of the interlocutors say: "It seems to me that Signor Claudio Tolomei had reason for saying that the sonnet was like the bed of Procrustes. Procrustes was so eccentric and brutal that all travellers who came to his inn were made to lie down in a certain bed, and from those whose length of body went beyond the bed he cut off the legs to suit the bed's dimensions; but as for those who were too short, he stretched their necks and legs with cords so that they might precisely fit the bed's size. And since it is almost impossible to find a subject which exactly fills the frame of the sonnet, it is imperative either to add idle words, or to break off the conceits in such a manner that the composition becomes either feeble or obscure." Jonson's adaptation of Guazzo is an additional piece of evidence that Drummond's criticism at the end of this section ("he neither doeth understand French nor Italiannes") is either wholly untrue, or, at best, a gross exaggeration.

Pastor Fido. This play was first published in 1590. There is a satirical element and no true rusticity in it. This critical remark is given on page 2 about Sidney, and on page 51 about Lucan, Sidney, and Guarini.

Lucan. This criticism is repeated on page 51. The phrase was probably suggested by Quintilian's criticism of Ovid (*Inst. Or.*, X. 1. 88), "laudandus tamen in partibus"—the same criticism as that which the curate gave about the egg.

Bonefonius. Of Jean Bonnefons little is known except that he lived towards the end of the sixteenth century at Clermont in Auvergne, and that he was *not* the author of "Semper munditias, semper Basilissa decores" (paraphrased in *Epicoene*, Act I, Sc. 1), which is anonymous.

de Perron. Duperron, who had died on the 6th September, 1618, was largely responsible for the conversion of Henri IV to Roman Catholicism in 1593. He was made a Cardinal in 1605. Jonson saw him when at Paris with Walter Raleigh the younger. His translations were not sufficiently faithful to the original to please Jonson.

of Ronsard

That the best pieces of Ronsard were his Odes. All this was to no purpose for he neither doeth understand French nor Italiannes.

of Horace

5. || He read his translation of that ode of Horace

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis etc.

and admired it.

of Petronius

Of ane epigrame of Petronius

Foeda et brevis est Veneris voluptas

concluding it was better to lie still and kisse then . . .

To me he read the preface of his Arte of Poesie, upon Horace Arte of Poesie, wher he heth ane Apologie of a play of his, St Bartholomees Faire, by Criticus is understood Done. Ther is ane Epigrame of Sir Edward Herberts befor it, the [this] he said he

[l. 71, *for he never understood the* French *or* Italian *Languages*, F.

Ronsard. Ronsard's *Franciade* (1572) was not a success. Drummond read it in 1609.

Beatus ille. Horace, *Epodes*, II. This translation is preserved. It is only fairly good, being a little too like a college exercise.

Foeda et brevis. The correct line is

Foeda est in coitu et brevis voluptas.

One might think that this misquotation (which has no metre) was *pudoris causa* were there not so many other careless quotations in the *Conversations*. The translation is preserved. The poem, which is just tolerable in the decent obscurity of Latin, is not to be endured in English.

kisse then . . . The next word is illegible in the MS. It might be "pante". Cf. Juv. *Sat.* III. 134.

preface of his Arte of Poesie. In *To the Readers*, prefixed to *Sejanus*, Jonson says, "But of this I shall take more seasonable cause to speak in my observations upon Horace his Arte of Poetry, which with the text translated I intend shortly to publish" (Quarto 1605). The preface is lost, but the translation has been preserved.

Herbert. Sir Edward Herbert, who became Lord Herbert of Cherbury in 1629, is addressed in *Epig.* 106. The Epigram, which is printed in the minor edition of Jonson's Poems, 1640, is as follows:—"Sir Edward Herbert upon his friend Mr. Ben Jonson and his translation:

'T was not enough, Ben Jonson, to be thought
Of English poets best, but to have brought
In greater state, to their acquaintance, one
Made equal to himself and thee; that none
Might be thy second, while thy glory is
To be the Horace of our times and his."

We are told more about this preface to

had done in my Lord Aubanies house 10 yeers since anno 1604.

The most common place of his repetition was a dialogue pastoral between a Shepherd and Shipherdesse about singing, an other Feraboscos Pauane with his letter, that Epigrame of Gout, my Lady Bedfoords bucke, his verses of Drinking, Drinke to me bot with

[l. 88, Feraboscos Pauane, R. F. P.; Paraboscos Pariane, S.; Laing and all other editions, Parabostes Pariane.

Horace on page 36. It was one of the books destroyed in the fire in Jonson's library in 1623. Cf. *An Execration upon Vulcan* (*Und.* 62):

> All the old Venusine in poetry
> And lighted by the Stagyrite could spy,
> Was there made English.

Paraphrased I believe this means: "I had translated all Horace's views upon Poetry, and illustrated them by means of passages from Aristotle". It is an example of one of Jonson's very clumsy inversions.

Lord Aubanie. See note on page 24 below.

10 yeers since, i.e. ten years before the appearance of *Bartholomew Fair*, which was produced in 1614.

a dialogue pastoral, i.e. *The Musical Strife*, *a Pastoral Dialogue* (Come, with our voices let us war), *Underwoods* 1.

Feraboscos Pauane. I propose this very simple and probable emendation. Laing and Cunningham, and of course Sidney, were content to print the meaningless Parabostes Pariane. Alfonso Ferrabosco or Ferabosco, the court musician, was a friend of Jonson's and responsible for the music of many of the masques. He is addressed in *Epigs.* 130 and 131, and is referred to in the most flattering terms in a note printed in the Quarto edition of *Hymenaei*. He is also mentioned in notes on *The Hue and Cry after Cupid*, and elsewhere. In 1609 Ferrabosco published a volume entitled *Ayres*, dedicated to Prince Henry. Many of these Ayres have words taken from Jonson's Masques. In 1609 he also published *Lessons for 1, 2 and 3 viols.* No words are given to the music, but piece No. 33 is entitled *A Pauin for three viols.* In *Varietie of Lute Lessons*, by Robert Dowland, printed for Thomas Adams, 1610, there is a 'Pauin' for the Lute composed by "the most artificiall and famous Alfonso Ferrabosco of Bologna". No words are given. The Pavan referred to in the text cannot be exactly identified, but it was a dance by Ferrabosco with words (a common accompaniment of dance music) by Jonson.

Gout. Epigram 118, *On Gut*, an especially disgusting epigram, the central thought of which is found also in a line of *Und.* 66.

Lady Bedfoords bucke. Epigram 84, a fair piece of occasional verse. Lucy, Countess of Bedford, married the 3rd Earl of Bedford in 1594; died 1627. She acted in the Masques of *Blackness* and *Beauty* and the *Masque of Queens.* She is addressed in Epigrams 76 and 94.

Drinke to me. The Forest, 9. *Song, To Celia.* Notice the misquotation.

thyne eyes; Swell me a Bowle etc. His verses of a Kisse,

> Bot kisse me once and Faith I will begone;
> And I will touch as harmelesse as the Bee
> That doeth but taste the flower and flee away.
> That is but half a one;
> What sould be done but once should be done long.

He read a satyre of a Lady come from the Bath; Verses on the Pucelle of the Court, Mistriss Boulstred, whose Epitaph Done made; a Satyre, telling there was no abuses to writte a satyre of and [in] which he repeateth all the abuses in England and the World. He insisted in that of Martialls Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem.

Censure of Hawthorden's verses

6. His censure of my verses was that they were all good, especiallie my Epitaphe of the Prince, save that

[l. 106, my Epitaphe of the Prince, S.; his Epitaph on Prince *Henry*, F.

Swell me a Bowle. See *Poetaster*, Act III, Sc. 1.

of a Kisse. No. 7 of A Celebration of Charis "Begging another on colour of mending the former". It is hopelessly inverted and "mismetred", as Chaucer said to Adam Scryveyne. The original is as follows:

> I'll taste as lightly as the bee
> That doth but touch his flower and flies away.
>
> Once more, and, faith, I will be gone.
> Can he that loves ask less than one?
> Nay, you may err in this,
> And all your bounty wrong:
> This could be called but half a kiss;
> What we're but once to do we should do long.

Cunningham had the sense to see that "What sould be done", &c., should be printed as verse, but did not see that "That is but half a one" should also be.

Lady come from the Bath. This satire is not preserved; neither is the other "telling there was no abuses".

Mistriss Boulstred. *Underwoods* 68, *On the Court Pucell.* This poem is mentioned again in section 18 (page 54). Donne's two elegies "on Mistris Boulstred" are on pp. 266 and 272 of the edition of 1639. It is extremely likely that these two poems are really one, erroneously divided by some editor.

Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem, Martial, X. 47. Already alluded to on page 2, where there is a note.

Epitaphe. "Teares on the Death of Mœliades. Edinburgh; printed by Andro

they smelled too much of the Schooles, and were not after the fancie of the tyme; for a child sayes he may writte after the fashion of the Greeks and Latine verses in running; yett that he wished, to please the King, that piece of Forth Feasting had been his owne.

Folio 26 verso

/ 7. He esteemeth John Done the first poet in the World, in some things: his verses of the Lost Chaine he heth by heart; and that passage of the Calme, That dust and feathers doe not stirr, all was so quiet. Affirmeth Done to have written all his best pieces ere he was 25 years old.

[l. 108, tyme, S.; Times, F. [l. 109, Greeks, S.; *Greek*, F. [l. 110, to please the King, S.; for pleasing the King, F. [l. 113, in some things, S.; for some Things, F. [l. 114, Chaine, S.; *Ochadine*, F. (a meaningless reading mysteriously restored by Sidney). [l. 114, heth, S.; had, F. [l. 115, doe not stirr, S.; *did not stir*, F. [l. 117, ere he was 25 years old, S.; before he was Twenty five Years of Age, F.

Hart, and are to bee sold at his shop on the north side of the High streete, a litle beneath the Crosse. 1613." Of the name Mœliades, Drummond himself says: "The Name, which in these Verses is given unto Prince *Henry*, is that which he himself, in the Challenges of his Martial Sports and Masquerades, was wont to use; *Mœliades*, Prince of the Isles, which in *Anagram* maketh a Word most worthy of such a Knight as he was, a Knight (if Time had suffered his Actions answer the World's Expectation) only worthy of such a Word, *Miles a Deo*" (1711 Folio, p. 15 of *Poems*). Jonson introduced this name in the form Meliadus into *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers*.

Forth Feasting. "Forth Feasting, a Panegyricke to the Kings most Excellent Majestie, Edinburgh, 1617." James entered Edinburgh on the 16th May, 1617, and remained in Scotland until about the end of July.

John Done. Donne is mentioned more frequently than any other author in the *Conversations*—nine times in all. Jonson addressed him in *Epigs.* 23 and 96.

verses of the Lost Chaine. Donne, Elegy XII, "Upon the loss of his Mistresses Chaine, for which he made satisfaction." (114 lines in all.)

the Calme. Donne, *Letters*, *The Calme.* Once again the quotation is not at all accurate. The couplet in question is:

> No use of lanthornes; and in one place lay
> Feathers and dust to-day and yesterday.

ere he was 25 years old. Izaak Walton says of Donne: "The recreations of his youth were *Poetry*," and "of those pieces which were facetiously composed, and carelessly

Sir Henry Wottons verses of a happie lyfe, he hath by heart, and a peice of Chapmans translation of the 13 of the Iliads, which he thinketh well done.

That Done said to him he wrott that Epitaph on Prince Henry, Look to me, Fath, to match Sir Ed: Herbert in obscurenesse.

He hath by heart some verses of Spensers Calender, about wyne, between Coline and Percye.

8. The conceit of Dones Transformation or Μετεμψυχωσις was, that he sought the soule of that Aple which Eva pulled, and therafter made it the soule of a bitch, then of a shee wolf, and so of a woman: his generall purpose was to have brought in

---

scattered most of them were written before the twentieth year of his age".

Sir Henry Wotton. Sibbald has written "Sir Edward"; but Laing was undoubtedly correct in emending this to "Sir Henry". Sir Henry's half-brother, Edward Wotton (1548-1626), was knighted in 1591, but was made Baron Wotton of Marley in 1603. A MS. copy of these verses, in Jonson's handwriting, is preserved at Dulwich. Wotton, who ended an adventurous life as Provost of Eton (elected 1624), is chiefly remembered by one poem, "You meaner beauties of the night", and by one *bon mot*, that "Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicae causa".

Epitaph on Prince Henry. This commences:

> Looke to me, faith, and looke to my faith, God,
> For both my centers feele this period.

It was published in *Lachrymae Lachrymarum* by Josuah Sylvester, third edition, 1613 (Elegie upon the Untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince Henry). The obscureness of Donne seems to have been an important feature of his work, and according to this passage, was sometimes put on, like that of Meredith. Prince Henry died of typhoid fever, not without suspicion of poison, on 6th Nov., 1612.

Spensers Calender. The Shepheard's Calender, October, Aegloga Decima. It is a dialogue between Pierce and *Cuddie*, not Coline.

Μετεμψυχωσις, p. 301 in 1639 edition. Infinitati Sacrum | 16th Augusti 1601 | Metempsycosis | Poema Satyricon. On p. 302 called The Progresse of the Soule. There are 52 stanzas, each rhyming *a*, *a*, *b*, *c*, *c*, *b*, *b*, *d*, *d*, *d*. In the Epistle prefixed to it he says: "However the bodies have dulled her other faculties her memory hath ever beene her owne which makes me so seriously deliver you by her relation all her passages from her first making when shee was that apple which Eve eate, to this time when shee is shee whose life you shall finde in the ende of this booke".

all the bodies of the Hereticks from the soule of Cain, and at last left it in the bodie of Calvin: Of this he never wrotte but one sheet, and now, since he was made Doctor, repenteth highlie, and seeketh to destroy all his poems.

9. That Petronius, Plinius Secundus, Tacitus, spoke best Latine; that Quintilianes 6. 7. 8. bookes were not only to be read, but altogither digested. Juvenal, Perse, Horace, Martiall, for delight and so was Pindar. For health Hippocrates.

Of their Nation, Hookers Ecclesiasticall historie

[l. 130, brought in, S.; brought it into, F. [l. 132, Of this he never wrotte but one sheet, S.; He only wrote one Sheet of this, F. [l. 134, repenteth highlie, S.; repented hugely, F. [l. 134, seeketh to destroy, S.; resolved to destroy, F. [l. 136, Tacitus, S.; *Plautus*, F. [l. 139, F. omits 'Perse'. [l. 141, their Nation, S.; the *English* Nation, F. [l. 141, historie, S.; *Polity*, F.

Doctor. Donne became a D.D. of Cambridge in 1615.

Petronius, &c. This is a most interesting criticism, showing Jonson's preference for writers of the Silver Age. Petronius, when not writing in the *sermo plebeius*, is unsurpassed as a stylist, and Tacitus is one of the greatest of all prose writers. The Folio reading *Plautus* is almost certainly wrong.

Quintiliane. The 6th, 7th, and 8th books of Quintilian are extremely technical, dealing with such subjects as the peroration, arrangement, syllogism, perspicuity, ornament, and tropes.

Hippocrates. This, according to Coleridge, is a joke (Notes on Ben Jonson, 1818). Coleridge unkindly and unfairly adds, after saying that this remark was interpreted in earnest, "But this is characteristic of a Scotchman; he has no notion of a jest, unless you tell him 'This is a joke!', and still less of that finer shade of feeling, the half-and-half, in which Englishmen naturally delight".

Hooker. Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. First four books entered at Stationers' Hall 29th Jan,, 1593. Book 5 published 1597. Books 6 and 8 "published according to the most authentique copies", 1648, 1651. 7th Book in Gauden's 1662 ed. The 6th book is spurious. Hooker is spoken of in *Disc.* "Sir Philip Sidney and Mr. Hooker (in different matter) grew great masters of wit and language, and in whom all vigour of invention and strength of judgement met." Walton says of Hooker that he died in 1600, and that his will "attested also that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jone, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; that he left Joane his wife his sole executrix; and that by his

|| (whose children are now beggars) ||, for church matters. Seldens Titles of Honour for Antiquities here; and ane book of the Gods of the Gentiles, whose names are in the Scripture, of Seldens.

Tacitus, he said, wrott the secrets of the Councill and Senate, as Suetonius did those of the Cabinet and Courte.

10. For a Heroik poeme, he said, ther was no such ground as King Arthurs fiction and that S. P. Sidney had ane intention to have transformd all his Arcadia to the stories of King Arthure.

xi. His acquaintance and behaviour with poets living with him.

Daniel was at jealousies with him.

Drayton feared him, and he esteemed not of him.

That Francis Beaumont loved too much himself and his own verses.

[l. 142, F. inserts 'was best' before 'for Church-Matters'. [l. 143, Antiquities here, S.; F. omits 'here'.

inventory his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to £1092, 9*s.* 2*d.*, which was much more than he thought himself worth, and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant, Thomas Lane". Margaret married Ezekiel Charke, B.D.; Cicely, Chalinor, a schoolmaster; Jone, Edward Nethersole at Bishopsbourne; Alice died unmarried in 1649.

Selden. Titles of Honour (London, 1614, quarto); *De Diis Syris* (London, 1617, 8vo). *Titles of Honour* is prefaced by an epistle from Jonson (*Und.* 31).

Arcadia. It is in Drummond's list of "Bookes red be me anno 1606". Jonson himself trifled with the Arthurian legend in *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* (6th June, 1610).

Daniel. The first sonnet of *Delia* is parodied in *Every Man in his Humour*, Act V, Sc. 1. The wife in Truewit's speech (*Silent Woman*, II. 1) compares "Daniel with Spenser". He is almost certainly alluded to in *Forest*, 12, *Epistle to Elizabeth Countess of Rutland.* Also *Staple of News*, Act III, Sc. 1.

Drayton is addressed in *Und.* 16 and 17.

Beaumont loved too much, &c. This

That Sr John Roe loved him; and when they two were ushered by my Lord Suffolk from a Mask, Roe wrott a moral epistle to him, which began, That next to playes, the Court and the State were the best. God threateneth Kings, Kings Lords, and Lords do us.

He †beate† Marston, and took his pistoll from him.

Sir W. Alexander was not half kinde unto him, and neglected him, because a friend to Drayton.

That Sir R. Aiton loved him dearly.

Nid Field was his schollar, and he had read to him the Satyres of Horace, and some Epigrames of Martiall.

[l. 163, and Lords do us, S.; [as] Lords do us, Laing. [l. 167, Aiton, S.; *Ayton*, F.

phrase is almost certainly suggested by Quintilian's criticism of Ovid, "nimium amator ingenii sui" (*Inst. Or.*, X. 1. 88). Cf. section 4, where phrases from Quintilian are adapted and used in criticisms of du Bartas and of Lucan. Beaumont is addressed in highly complimentary terms in *Epig.* 55.

Lord Suffolk, who is better known as Lord Thomas Howard, was created Earl of Suffolk in 1603, and was Lord Chamberlain 1603–14. Jonson addresses him quite amicably in *Epig.* 67. The date of the poem referred to here is given in Donne's Works (where it is included by mistake) as 6th January, 1603, i.e. 1604 N.S., when we know that the Masque performed was Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses presented in a maske the 8.* (*sic*, but the 6th, Twelfth Night, is probably meant) *of January, at Hampton Court.* Hinc illae lacrimae.

epistle. Donne's Works, 1639 ed., p. 207. To Ben Johnson, 6th Jan., 1603:

The State and men's affaires are the best playes
Next yours. 'T is nor more nor lesse than due praise.
. . . . . .
Forget we were thrust out. It is but thus
God threatens Kings, Kings Lords, as Lords doe us.

Marston. This remark is repeated on p. 26.

†*beate*†. Indistinct in MS.

Sir W. Alexander, who was knighted in 1609, and who became Earl of Stirling on 14th June, 1633, when Charles was crowned at Holyrood, was a great friend of Drummond's, Drummond calling him 'Alexis' and himself 'Damon' in their correspondence.

Sir R. Aiton. Sir Robert Ayton or Aytoun was private secretary to Queen Anne, and was knighted in 1612. He wrote some Latin hexameters upon King James in 1603, and was a candidate for the provostship of Eton when Wotton was elected (1624).

Nid Field. Nathan Field, who was born in 1587, was one of the children who acted in *Cynthia's Revels*, 1600. He became a playwright, and produced *A Woman's a Weathercock* (pub. 1612), and *Amends for Ladies* (1618). Jonson introduces his name into *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), Act V, Sc. 3, as synonymous with 'best actor'.

That Markam (who added his English Arcadia) was not of the number of the Faithfull, i. Poets, and but a base fellow.

That such were Day and Midleton.

That Chapman and Fletcher were loved of him.

Overbury was first his friend, then turn'd his mortall enimie.

12. || Particulars of the actions of other poets, and apothegmes.

That the Irish having robd Spensers goods, and

Markam. Gervase Markham (1568–1637) was a poetaster, a horse-breeder, and an indefatigable writer. Amongst a host of other books he published, in 1607, *The English Arcadia, alluding his beginning from Sir Philip Sydnes ending* (quarto), and in 1613 *The Seconde and Last Parte of the First Book of the English Arcadia, making a complete end of the first history* (quarto). He was indeed a base fellow, as a favourite trick of his was to re-issue the unsold copies of his books under new titles. On 14th July, 1617, he signed a paper promising to write no more books on the treatment of diseases of horses and cattle.

Faithfull. This expression (which had to be explained to Drummond) is probably derived from Catullus, 16, 5—

> nam castum esse decet *pium* poetam
> ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est.

Cf. also Catullus, 14, 7—

> qui tantum tibi misit *impiorum*.

Day has already (page 6) been stigmatized as a rogue.

Midleton was City Chronologer from 1620 until his death in July, 1627, when Jonson succeeded him. The best-known of his many plays are *The Changeling* and *A Game at Chesse.*

Overbury. The reason for the enmity with Overbury is probably given below (on page 20). *Epig.* 113, which was addressed to Overbury about 1610, when he returned from his travels, is most complimentary, so it is absurd to refer the enmity, as Laing does, to some period before February, 1602–3.

Spenser. The Castle of Kilcolman was burnt in Oct., 1598, in an insurrection of the Irish (led by the O'Neills), and Spenser fled to Cork with his wife and four children. He died at an inn in King Street, Westminster, on Saturday, 16th January, 1599. He was a pensioner of the Crown, and came from Ireland with important despatches, and it is unlikely that he died of actual want. It is much more probable that he died of nervous prostration. The incident of the little child new born, for which Jonson is the sole authority, would seem to be "merely corroborative detail, intended to give artistic verisimilitude to a bald and unconvincing narrative".

burnt his house and a litle child new born, he and his wyfe escaped, and after, he died for lake of bread in King Street, and refused 20 pieces sent to him by my Lord of Essex, and said, He was sorrie he had no time to spend them.

Folio 27 recto

/ That in that paper S. W. Raughly had of the Allegories of his Fayrie Queen, by the Blating Beast the Puritans were understood, by the false Duessa the Q. of Scots.

That Southwell was hanged yett so he had written that piece of his, the Burning Babe, he would have been content to destroy many of his.

Franc: Beaumont died ere he was 30 years of age.

[l. 180, litle child new born, S.; F. omits 'new born'. [l. 181, lake, S.; want, F. [l. 183. Lord of Essex, S.; F. omits 'of'. [l. 183, sorrie, S.; sure, F. (It is better for the reading to be 'sorrie' than 'sure'.) [l. 186, Blating, S.; *bleating*, F. [l. 192, ere he was 30, S.; before he was 30, F.

that paper. Prefixed to *The Faerie Queene* is "A Letter of the Authors, expounding his whole intention in the course of this worke; which for that it giveth great light to the reader, for the better understanding is hereunto annexed. To the right noble and valorous Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight". A fuller copy of this letter, or a different document altogether, is obviously meant here.

Duessa sometimes represents Mary Queen of Scots, sometimes Papal Falsehood. In the Calendar of Scots Papers is preserved a letter (dated Edinburgh, Nov. 12th, 1596) from Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley, in which he says that great offence was conceived by the King against Edmund Spenser, for publishing in print in the second part of the *Fairy Queen*, chapter (*sic*) 9, some dishonourable effects as the King deemeth against himself and his mother deceased. He (Bowes) has satisfied the King about the 'privilege' under which the book is published, yet he still desireth that Edmund Spenser, for this fault, may be duly tried and punished.

Southwell was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn 21st Feb., 1595, having been found guilty of high treason. Prior to that he had been thirteen times tortured, and two and a half years in prison.

Beaumont. This is not quite correct. Beaumont was born in 1584, as the University Register of Oxford testifies: "Broadgates (i.e. afterwards Pembroke) 1596, Feb. 4 Francisc. Beaumont Baron. fil. aetat. 12". Beaumont died on 6th March, 1616.

Sr John Roe was ane infinit spender, and used to say, when he had no more to spende he could die. He died in his armes of the pest, and he furnished his charges, 20 lb.; which was given him back.

That Drayton was chalenged for intitling one book Mortimuriados.

That S. J. Davies played in ane Epigrame on Drayton, who in a sonnet concluded his Mistriss might been the Tenth Worthy; and said, he used a phrase like Dametas in Arcadia, who said, For wit his Mistresse might be a Gyant.

Dones Grandfather, on the mother side, was Heywood the Epigrammatist.

That Done himself, for not being understood, would perish.

[l. 197, intitling, S.; intituling, F. [l. 198, Mortimuriados, S.; *Mortimariades*, F. [l. 199, Davies, S.; *Davis*, F. [l. 200, might been, S.; might have been, F. [l. 201, Tenth Worthy, scripsi; Ninth Worthy, S. and F. [l. 204, Dones Grandfather, S.; He said, *Donne* was originally a Poet, his Grandfather, F.

Roe. Epigrams 27, 32, and 33 are all addressed to Roe, and all written after his death. Sir John Roe (1581–1608) was the author of many poems attributed to Donne.

chalenged. Cf. "but never chalenged him" (on page 31). It means "taken to task". The mistake was calling a poem in a single book by such a name. Jonson's own tragedy, *The Fall of Mortimer*, was to have dealt with the same subject as Drayton's poem.

Mortimuriados. The Lamentable civell warres of Edward the Second and the Barrons, 1596 (rhyme royal). Re-written, in a different metre, and published as *The Barrons Wars in the Raigne of Edward the Second, with Englands Heroicall Epistles.* 1603. The new metre is an eight-line stanza.

Sir J. Davies' epigram is No. 25; Drayton's Sonnet, No. 18 of *Idea*. *Dametas*, the doltish clown in *Arcadia*, is mentioned again on page 51. Drayton was misinterpreted by Davies; he did not refer to the Nine Worthies of *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V.

Done. Donne's mother was Elizabeth, the third daughter of John Heywood by his wife Elizabeth, who was the daughter of Sir Thomas More's sister Elizabeth.

for not being understood. Cf. *Disc.* "And as it is fit to read the best authors to youth first, so let them be of the openest and clearest, as Livy before Sallust, Sidney before Donne".

HAWTHORNDEN

A sweet and solitary Seat, and very fit and proper for the Muses.

Bishop Sage, *Life of Drummond*, in 1711 Folio edition of Drummond's Works.

That Sr W. Raughlye esteemed more of fame than conscience.

The best wits of England were employed for making of his Historie. Ben himself had written a peice to him of the Punick warre, which he altered and set in his booke. || S. W. heth written the lyfe of Queen Elizabeth, of which ther is copies extant.

Sir P. Sidney had translated some of the Psalmes, which went abroad under the name of the Countesse of Pembrock.

Marston wrott his Father-in-lawes preachings, and his Father-in-law his Commedies.

[l. 208, Sr W. Raughlye, &c. F. runs this and the next sentence into one, unnecessarily.
[l. 208, of fame, S.; Fame, F.

esteemed more of fame than conscience. Cf. *Catiline*, Chorus at end of Second Act:

> Be more with faith than face endued,
> And study conscience above fame;

and *Epig.* 98:

> Be always to thy gathered self the same,
> And study conscience more than thou would'st fame.

I do not believe that lines 209 and 210 should be taken together, as in the Folio, as the Elizabethan ideas about plagiarism and copyright were quite different from ours. There is no reason whatever to doubt Jonson's statement, as Mrs. Creighton somewhat ill-advisedly does in *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. IV, Chap. III. *The History of the World. In Five Bookes*, was published on the 29th March, 1614. Many scholars helped. Cotton lent Raleigh books, Robert Burhill assisted with Greek and Hebrew, and John Hoskins revised the book. Jonson wrote the lines *The Mind of the Frontispiece to a Book* (*Und.* 42) prefixed to the 1614 edition. This poem is not a sonnet, as stated in *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. IV, Chap. III, p. 63. Raleigh's Life of Queen Elizabeth is not preserved. Raleigh was executed while Jonson was in Scotland, 29th Oct., 1618. He is said in *Discoveries* "not to be contemned, either for judgement or style".

Countesse of Pembrock. Mary Sidney (1555–1621), Sir Philip Sidney's sister, married the 2nd Earl of Pembroke in 1577. She was his third wife. She assisted her brother to translate the Psalms, and their translation was widely circulated in manuscript. It was not printed until 1823 (by Robert Triphook). A manuscript in the Bodleian makes it clear that Sidney translated the first forty-three psalms, and the Countess of Pembroke the remainder.

Marston. Marston's father-in-law was, according to Wood, one William Wilkes,

Sheakspear, in a play, brought in a number of men saying they had suffered Shipwrack in Bohemia, wher ther is no sea neer by some 100 miles.

Daniel wrott Civill Warres, and yett hath not one batle in all his Book.

The Countess of Rutland was nothing inferior to her Father, S. P. Sidney, in poesie. Sir Th: Overburie was in love with her, and caused Ben to read his Wyffe to her, which he, with ane excellent grace, did, and praised the Author. That the morne therafter he discorded with Overburie, who would have him to intend a sute that was unlawfull. The lines my Lady keepd in remembrance, He comes to near who comes

chaplain to King James, and rector of Barford St. Martin, in Wiltshire.

Shipwrack in Bohemia. In the reprint of the *Conversations* in *Archaeologia Scotica*, Vol. IV, Laing amazingly calls this passage "Jonson's observation in regard to *The Tempest*". *Dorastus and Fawnia*, whence Shakespeare derived this geographical blunder, was read by Drummond in 1606.

Daniel. First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars, 1595; fifth book, 1595; sixth, 1601; seventh and eighth books, 1609.

Countess of Rutland. Elizabeth Sidney, only child of Sir Philip, married the fifth earl of Rutland in 1599. He died 26th June, 1612; she died childless in Aug., 1612. She is addressed in *Epig.* 79, *Forest* 12, and (almost certainly) in *Und.* 69.

Wyffe. This poem was licensed 13th Dec., 1613, and went through five editions in 1614. Overbury died 15th Sept., 1613, his death probably increasing the sales. The full title of the poem is "A Wife now the Widow of Sir Thomas Overburye, being a most exquisite and singular poem of the choice of a wife, whereunto are added many witty characters and conceited newes written by himself and other learned gentlemen his friends" (2nd edition; the *Characters* were not in first edition). Drummond read "S. T. Overb. Wyfe" in 1614. The whole passage of the poem is—

> in part to blame is she
> Which hath without consent been only tried:
> He comes too near that comes to be denied.

These lines were borrowed without acknowledgment by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1690–1762) in a poem called "The Lady's Resolve written on a window soon after her marriage. 1713."

> Let this great maxim be my Virtue's guide;
> In part she is to blame that has been tried;
> He comes too near that comes to be denied.

This "discord" with Overbury was probably the reason that "Overbury turn'd his mortall enimie" (page 16).

to be denied. Beaumont wrot that Elegie on the death of the Countess of Rutland, and in effect her husband wanted the half of his in his travells.

Owen is a poor pedantique Schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of litle children, and hath no thinge good in him, his Epigrames being bare narrations.

Chapman hath translated Musaus in his verses, like his Homer.

[l. 236, pure pedantique, S.; poor Pedantick, F.

Beaumont. Beaumont's Elegy explains the lacuna in the MS. at this point (see Dyce's Beaumont and Fletcher, Vol. XI, p. 508)—

> For whom thou had'st, if we may trust to fame,
> Could nothing change about thee but thy name . . .
> In all things else thou rather led'st a life
> Like a betrothed virgin than a wife.

Cf. *Und.* 69:

> The wisdom, madam, of your private life
> Wherewith this while you live a widowed life.

the half of his. For this sudden breaking off cf. the passage restored by me from Sibbald's MS. in section 17 (p. 47).

travells. Cf. *Und.* 69:

> Whilst your Ulysses hath ta'en leave to go
> Countries and climes, manners and men to know.

Owen. John Owen, headmaster of King Henry VIII's School, Warwick, published several collections of epigrams, e.g. *Epigrammatum Joannis Owen Cambro-Britanni libri tres.* 1606. As a matter of fact, Owen's epigrams are for the most part singularly short and pointed.

narrations. Said of Harrington's epigrams in section 3 (p. 4). Owen's epigrams are full of puns and anagrams, but otherwise follow Martial's tradition.

Chapman. This does not refer to Chapman's completion of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, which Jonson would not have dignified with the name of a translation. It refers to *The Divine Poem of Musaeus, first of all bookes, translated according to the Originall.* 1616. London. Printed by Isaac Jaggard. Only one copy of this edition is preserved; it is in the Bodleian, and only measures 2 in. in length and 1 in. in breadth. It is dedicated to Inigo Jones, and is in heroic couplets, as is Chapman's translation of the *Odyssey* (1614). Laing therefore makes two blunders, one in identifying the poem mentioned here with the continuation of Marlowe's poem, and the other in saying that Chapman's Homer is in fourteen-syllable lines. *The Address to the Commune Reader* expressly says: "When you see Leander and Hero, the subjects of this Pamphlet, I persuade myself your prejudice will increase to the contempt of it; either headlong presupposing it all one, or at no part matchable with that partly excellent Poem of Master Marlowe's. For your all one, the Works are in nothing alike; a different character being held through both the style, matter, and invention." It is as close a translation as Chapman could make.

Musaus. Chapman in his introduction says: "*Of Musaeus.* Musaeus was a re-

Flesher and Beaumont, ten yeers since, hath written the Fathfull Shipheardesse, a Tragicomedie, well done.

Dyer died unmaried.

S. P. Sidney was no pleasant man in countenance, his face being spoilled with pimples, and of high blood, and long: that my Lord Lisle now Earle of Leister his eldest son resembleth him.

13. || Of his owne lyfe, education, birth, actions.

His Grandfather came from Carlisle, and he thought from Anandale to it, he served King Henry 8, and was a Gentleman. His father losed all his estate under Queen Marie, having been cast in prisson and forfaitted, at last turnd Minister: / || so he was a

Folio 27 verso

[l. 246, now Earle of Leister, R. F. P.; now Earle of Worster, S. [l. 249, to which he had come from *Annandale* in *Scotland*, F.

nowned Greek poet, born at Athens, the son of Eumolpus. He lived in the time of Orpheus, and is said to be one of them that went the famous voyage to Colchis for the Golden Fleece."

Musaeus, called Grammaticus, the author of the poem, belonged to the beginning of the 6th century A.D., and modelled his style on Nonnus. Even the elder Scaliger confused him with the mythical bard who is mentioned in Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1033:

Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς.

the Fathfull Shipheardesse, which was printed before May, 1610, and probably acted in 1609, was written by Fletcher alone. Some traits are suggested by Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. Jonson has written a eulogistic poem on this play (printed as *Underwoods* 14). In it he does not mention Beaumont. This passage is interesting as showing that the expression "Beaumont and Fletcher" had, even by 1619, passed into a sort of formula, as Jonson's poem makes it clear that he knew that Beaumont had no hand in this particular play.

Dyer. Sir Edward Dyer was buried on the 11th May, 1607, at St. Saviour's, Southwark. Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) mentions him as "famous for elegy".

my Lord Lisle. This passage should read "my Lord Lisle's (now Earl of Leister) eldest son", &c. Drummond or Sibbald wrote "Worster" by mistake for "Leister". Robert Sidney, brother of Sir Philip, was created Baron Sidney 1603, Viscount Lisle 1605, and Earl of Leicester on 2nd August, 1618, after Jonson had left for Scotland. His eldest son, also Robert Sidney, was born on 1st Dec., 1595.

ministers son. || He himself was posthumous born, a moneth after his fathers decease, brought up poorly, putt to school by a friend (his master Cambden), after taken from it, and put to ane other craft (I think was to be a Wright or Bricklayer), which he could not endure, then went he to the Low Countries, but returning soone he betook himself to his wonted studies. In his service in the Low Countries, he had, in the face of both the Campes, killed ane enimie and taken opima spolia from him, and since his comming to England, being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversarie, which had hurt him in the arme, and whose sword was 10 inches longer than his; for the which he was emprissoned, and almost at the gallowes.

[l. 256, and was put to School by a Friend. His Master was *Camden*. F. [l. 258, (*viz:* to be a Bricklayer), F. [l. 260, returning soone, S.; returning home again, F. [l. 262, face, S.; View, F. [l. 262, Campes, S.; Armies, F. [l. 263, opima spolia, S.; the *opima spolia*, F. [l. 264, to the fields, S.; to a Duel, F. [l. 266, for the which, S.; For this Crime, F.

Cambden. Notice the variant reading of the Folio. The friend and Camden are not necessarily identical. "Friend", according to the common Scottish usage, might quite well mean "relation". Camden was usher at Westminster from 1575 to 1593, when he became headmaster. *Every Man in his Humour* is dedicated to Camden, and *Epig.* 14 is addressed to him. In *Part of King James's Entertainment in passing to his Coronation* Camden is called "The glory and light of our kingdom".

almost at the gallowes. Jonson's indictment was found by John Cordy Jeaffreson in the Middlesex sessions rolls. It is as follows:

Cogn' Indictament petit librum legit ut Cl'icus sign' cum l'r'a T Et delr juxta formam statut' etc.

Middss: — Juratores pro D'na Regina p'ntant q^{d} Benjaminus Johnson nup' de London yoman vicesimo secundo die Septembris anno regni d'n'e n'r'e Elizabethe Dei gra' Anglie Franc' et Hib'nie Regine fidei defensor', etc, quadragesimo vi et armis etc. In et sup' quendam Gabrielem Spencer in pace Dei et d'c'e d'n'e Regine apud Shordiche in Com' Midd' pred' in Campis ib'm existen' insultu' fecit Et eund'm Gabrielem cum quodam gladio de ferro et calibe vocat' a Rapiour precii iiis. quem in manu sua dextra adtunc et ibi'm h'uit et tenuit extract' felonice ac voluntar' percussit et pupugit

Then took he his Religion by trust, of a priest who visited him in prisson. Therafter he was 12 yeares a Papist.

He was Master of Arts in both the Universities, || by their favour not his studie.

He maried a wyfe who was a shrew yet honest, || 5 yeers he had not bedded with her, but remained || with my Lord Aulbanie.

In the tyme of his close imprissonment, under Queen Elisabeth, || his judges could gett nothing of || him to all their demands bot I and No. || They placed

[l. 268, by trust, S.; on Trust, F. [l. 272, 'by their favour not his studie', not in F. [l. 273, honest; F. adds 'to him'.

Dans eidem Gabrieli Spencer adtunc et ib'm cu' gladio pred' in et sup' dextern' latus ip'ius Gabrielis unam plagam mortalem p' funditat' sex pollic' et latitud' unius pollicis de qua quidem plaga mortali id'm Gabriel Spencer apud Shordiche pred' in pred'c'o Com' Midd' in Campis pred'c'is adtunc et ib'm instant' obiit. Et sic Jur' pred'c'i dicunt sup' Sacr'm suu' q^d prefat' Benjaminus Johnson pred'c'm Gabrielem Spencer apud Shordiche pred' in pred'c'o Com' Midd' et in Campis predic' is [die et anno] predic'- is felonice et voluntar' interfecit et occidit contra pacem D'c'e D'n'e Regine etc.

The same incident is alluded to in a letter of Henslowe's dated 26th Sept., 1598: "Sence yow weare with me I have lost one of my company which hurteth me greatley, that is Gabrell, for he is slayen in Hogesden fylldes by the hands of bergemen Jonson, bricklayer".

not his studie, i.e. they gave him the degree without his supplicating for it.

Lord Aulbanie. Esmé Stuart, born in 1579, succeeded his father as seventh seigneur of Aubigny in 1583. He was naturalized an Englishman on the 24th May, 1603, married Catherine, daughter of Sir Gervase Clifton, in 1607, succeeded his brother as 3rd Duke of Lennox 16th Feb., 1624, and died of putrid fever 30th July, 1624.

Sejanus is dedicated to him; he is addressed in affectionate terms in *Epig.* 127, and *Forest* 13 is addressed to his wife. We know that he acted in *The Hue and Cry after Cupid* (Shrove Tuesday, 1608); and Jonson's *Epithalamion* was written for the marriage of his daughter Frances to Master Hierome Weston in 1633. Jonson was in Lord D'Aubigny's house in 1604, as we are told upon page 9 above, and it is natural to assume that his five years began in 1602, shortly before D'Aubigny was naturalized, and ended in 1607, on the advent of a wife to the house. The dedication to *Volpone* is dated "From my house in the Black-Friars this 11th day of February, 1607" (i.e. 1608 in new style).

two damnd villans to catch advantage of him, with him, but he was advertised by his keeper, of the spies he hath ane epigrame.

When the King came in England, at that tyme the pest was in London, he being in the country at S^r^ Robert Cottons house with old Cambden, he saw in a vision his eldest sone (then a child and at London) appear unto him with the mark of a bloodie crosse on his forehead, as if it had been cutted with a suord, at which amazed he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Cambdens chamber to tell him, who persuaded him it was but ane apprehension of his fantasie at which he sould not be disjected; in the mean tyme comes there letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague. He appeared to him (he said) of a manlie shape, and of that grouth that he thinks he shall be at the resurrection.

He was delated by S^r^ James Murray to the King

[l. 279, They placed two damnd villans to catch advantage of him, S.; there were Spies to catch him, F. [l. 280, his keeper, S.; the Keeper, F. [l. 282, in England, S.; to *England*, F. [l. 283, pest, S.; Plague, F. [l. 285, a child, S.; a young Child, F. [l. 287, cutted, S.; cut, F. [l. 290, 'of his fantasie', not in F. [l. 291, disjected, S.; dejected, F. [l. 296, delated, S.; accused, F.

ane epigrame. *Epigram* 59, *On Spies.*

the pest. In 1603 over 30,000 persons died of plague in London alone.

Cotton. Sir Robert Cotton was one year older than Jonson, with whom he had been at school at Westminster under Camden, who was twenty years older. Cotton, who was knighted on 11th May, 1603, had at just about that time rebuilt his country house at Connington, Huntingdonshire. He had purchased the whole room in which Mary Queen of Scots had been beheaded at Fotheringay, and had fitted it up in his mansion.

his eldest sone. Jonson has written a touching epigram (*Epig.* 45) on the death of this boy. He speaks of him there as seven years old, and if the daughter mentioned in *Epig.* 22 was older, she must have been born in 1595, and Jonson married in 1594.

for writting something against the Scots in a play Eastward Hoe, and voluntarly imprissonned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was, that they should then [have] had their ears cut and noses. After their delivery, he banqueted all his friends; there was Camben, Selden, and others; at the midst of the Feast his old Mother dranke to him, and shew him a paper which she had (if the sentence had taken execution) to have mixed in the prisson among his drinke, which was full of lustie strong poison, and that she was no churle, she told, she minded first to have drunk of it herself.

He had many quarrels with Marston, || beat him, and || took his pistol from him, wrote his Poetaster on him;

[l. 302, banqueted, S.; entertained, F. [l. 303, at the midst, S.; in the Middle, F. [l. 305, had taken execution, S.; had past, F. [l. 306, which was full of lustie strong poison, S.; and it was strong and lusty Poison, F. [l. 308, minded, S.; designed, F. [l. 309, He had many quarrels, S.; He fought several Times, F.

Eastward Hoe. "Eastward Hoe, as it was played in the Black-friers, by the Children of her Maiesties Revels. Made by Geo: Chapman, Ben: Jonson, Joh: Marston. At London; printed for William Aspley, 1605." In Act III, Sc. 2, in a speech by Seagull, there is this passage: (That there are in Virginia) "only a few industrious Scots perhaps, who indeed are dispersed over the face of the whole earth. But as for them there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out on't, in the world than they are. And for my own part I would a hundred thousand of them were there, for we are all one countrymen now, ye know, and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than we do here". The leaves containing this passage were cancelled and reprinted, and it only occurs in a few of the original copies. In Act II, Sc. 1, there is also a sneer at the Scottish marriage laws: "*Quicksilver.* She could have been made a lady by a Scotch knight, and never ha' married him". See also Act IV, Sc. 1, where thirty-pound knights are sneered at.

He had many quarrels with Marston. Cf. section 11, "He †beate† Marston, and took his pistoll from him" (p. 15).

The Poetaster was produced in 1601, and Marston is ridiculed as Crispinus. Crispinus is given a pill by Horace (Jonson), and forced to disgorge some of his fustian words.

In no known play of Marston's is Jonson

the beginning of them were that Marston represented him in the stage.

In his youth given to venerie. He thought the use of a maide nothing in comparison to the wantoness of a wyfe, and would never have ane other mistress. He said two accidents strange befell him: one, that a man made his own wyfe to court him, whom he enjoyed two yeares erre he knew of it, and one day finding them by chance, / was passingly delighted with it; ane other, lay diverse tymes with a woman, who shew him all that he wished, except the last act, which she would never agree unto.

Folio 28 recto

S. W. Raulighe sent him Governour with his son, anno 1613, to France. This youth being knavishly inclyned, among other pastimes (as the setting of the favour of damosells on a cod-piece), caused him to be drunken, and dead drunk, so that he knew not wher he was, therafter laid him on a carr, which he made to be drawen by pioners through the streets, at every

[l. 312, S. punctuates 'in the stage in his youth', &c. [l. 326, cod-piece, S.; cwd-piece, Laing, &c. (the tail of the *c* is joined on to the *o*, making it look like a *w* until closely examined).

represented as lecherous, so it is extremely probable that the punctuation adopted in the text above is correct. Laing unfortunately printed "Marston represented him in the stage, in his youth given to venerie", thereby misleading many critics.

anno 1613. This corresponds with the date given in section 4 for his conversation with Cardinal Duperron (page 7).

Walter Raleigh the younger was baptized on 1st November, 1593. He was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1610. His tutor described him as addicted to "strange company and violent exercises". He was killed, while accompanying his father on his last fatal expedition, at San Tomás, some time before 8th Jan., 1618.

cod-piece. The *locus classicus* for this garment is Rabelais, Bk. III, Chapter 8.

corner showing his Governour streetched out, and telling them, that was a more lively image of the Crucifix then any they had: at which sporte young Raughlies mother delyghted much (saying, his father young was so inclyned), though the father abhorred it.

He can set horoscopes, but trusts not in them. He with the consent of a friend cousened a lady, with whom he had made ane apointment to meet ane old Astrologer, in the suburbs, which she keeped; and it was himself disguysed in a longe gowne and a whyte beard at the light of dimm burning candles, up in a little cabinet reached unto by a ledder.

Every first day of the new year he had 20 lb. sent him from the Earl of Pembrok to buy bookes.

After he was reconciled with the Church, and left of to be a recusant, at his first communion, in token of true reconciliation, he drank out all the full cup of wyne.

Being at the end of my Lord Salisburies table with Inigo Jones, and demanded by my Lord, Why he was not glad? My Lord, said he, yow promised I should

Earl of Pembrok. William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, was born 8th April, 1580, succeeded to the title on 9th Jan., 1601, and died in 1630. He acted in *The Hue and Cry after Cupid* (Shrove Tuesday, 1608). *Catiline* was dedicated to him in 1611, and the book of *Epigrams* in 1616. He is addressed in *Epigram* 102.

Lord Salisburies table. This incident probably took place at "An Entertainment of King James and Queen Anne at Theobalds, when the house was delivered up with the possession to the Queen by the Earl of Salisbury, the 22nd May 1607. The Prince Janvile brother to the Duke of Guise being then present". Jones provided the "gloomy obscure place" which changed to a "glorious place". It was not on 24th July, 1606, at *The Entertainment of the Two Kings*, as Cunningham suggests, as there was no mechanism in this Entertainment to necessitate the presence of Jones.

dine with yow, bot I doe not, for he had none of his meate; he esteamed only that his meate which was of his owne dish.

He heth consumed a whole night in lying looking to his great toe, about which he hath seen Tartars and Turks, Romans and Carthaginians, feight in his imagination.

Northampton was his mortall enimie for brauling, on a St Georges day, one of his attenders, he was called before the Councell for his Sejanus, and accused both of popperie and treason by him.

Sundry tymes he heth devoured his bookes, i. sold them all for necessity.

He heth a minde to be a churchman, and so he might have favour to make one sermon to the King, he careth not what therafter sould befall him: for he would not flatter though he saw Death.

[l. 354, consumed, S.; spent, F. [l. 357, brauling, S.; beating, Laing, &c.

none of his meate. This same thought is worked into *The Forest*, 2, *To Penshurst*:

> Where comes no guest but is allowed to eat
> Without his fear, and of thy lord's own meat.

He heth consumed, &c. Possibly the effect of too much Canary. The Romans and Carthaginians, however, may have appeared to him when he was writing the "peice of the Punick warre" for Sir Walter Raleigh mentioned on page 19.

Northampton. Henry Howard, created Earl of Northampton in 1604, was himself a secret Romanist. In his will he spoke of himself as "saying with St. Jerome 'In qua fide puer natus fui in eadem senex morior'".

brauling. Cf. Skelton, *Why come ye nat to courte?* 593:

> His servauntes menyal
> He doth revyle and brall;

also Drummond, *Idea*, 1711 folio, p. 220.

Sejanus was first acted in 1603, but was not published until 1605, quarto. In the dedication to Lord D'Aubigny (1616) Jonson says it "hath outlived their malice".

devoured his bookes. Cf. Petronius, *Sat.*, § 44, Quod ad me attinet, iam pannos meos comedi, et si perseverat haec annona, casulas meas vendam.

he would not flatter. Jonson seemed always to connect preachers and flattery. See section 14 (p. 33). Donne, who was born in the year after Jonson, was ordained only four years before these conversations took place.

At his hither comming, Sr Francis Bacon said to him, He loved not to sie poesy goe on other feet than poetical Dactilus and Spondaius.

[14] (not numbered in MS.)

His Narrations of great ones.

He never esteemed of a man for the name of a Lord.

Queen Elizabeth never saw herself after she became old in a true glass; they painted her, and sometymes would vermilion her nose. She had allwayes about Christmass evens set dice that threw sixes or five, and she knew not they were other, to make her win and esteame herself fortunate. That she had a membrana on her, which made her uncapable of man, though for her delight she tryed many. At the comming over of Monsieur, ther was a French Chirurgion who took in hand to cut it, yett fear stayed her, and his death. King Philip had intention by dispensation of the Pope to have maried her.

Sr P. Sidneyes Mother, Licesters sister, after she had the litle pox, never shew herself in Court therafter bot masked.

Sr Francis Bacon was created Baron Verulam 12th July, 1618.

feet. This joke is introduced into *A Tale of a Tub*, Act I, Sc. 2:

Turfe.
He 'll vace me down, [sirs,] me myself sometimes,
That verse goes upon veet as you and I do.

Monsieur. Francis, duc d'Alençon, brother of Henri III, and heir-presumptive to the throne of France, made his first addresses to Elizabeth in 1571, and came over in 1579. He died from the effects of debauchery, 9th June, 1584. See *Cynthia's Revels*, Induction: "A third great-bellied juggler talks of twenty years since, and when Monsieur was here".

Sr P. Sidneyes Mother. Lady Sidney was a daughter of the Duke of Northumberland. She took smallpox after nursing Queen Elizabeth through it, in October, 1562. According to Fulke Greville in his *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, she "chose rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time than come upon the stage of the world with any manner of disparagement". Laing suggests that Jonson's *Epi-*

The Earl of Licester gave a botle of liquor to his Lady, which he willed her to use in any faintness, which she, after his returne from Court, not knowing it was poison, gave him, and so he died.

Salisbury never cared for any man longer nor he could make use of him.

Folio 28 verso

/ My Lord Lisles daughter, my Lady Wroth, is unworthily maried on a jealous husband.

Ben one day being at table with my Lady Rutland, her husband comming in, accused her that she keept table to poets, of which she wrott a letter to him, which he answered. My Lord intercepted the letter, but never chalenged him.

My Lord Chancelor of England wringeth his speeches

gram to the Smallpox (*Und.* 53) may allude to Lady Sidney, but it could not possibly do so, as she was buried on the 11th August, 1586, when Jonson was fourteen.

Earl of Licester. Robert Dudley (1532–1588) was created Earl of Leicester in 1564, and died "of a continual fever" 4th Sept., 1588. Jonson is the sole authority for this version of the story that he was poisoned. (This passage is quoted from Sir Robert Sibbald's MS. in the Introduction to *Kenilworth*, dated 1st March, 1831.) Contemporary gossip said that the Countess of Leicester (Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex) had fallen in love with Sir Christopher Blount, that Leicester took Blount to Holland to kill him and failed to do so, and that the Countess then gave her husband a poisonous cordial after a heavy meal.

Salisbury. Robert Cecil, created Earl of Salisbury in 1605, died 24th May, 1612, is addressed in *Epigrams* 43, 63, and 64 in most flattering terms.

Lady Wroth. Lady Mary Wroth, author of *Urania*, was the eldest daughter of Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester (creation of 2nd August, 1618). She married Sir Robert Wroth of Durrants, County Middlesex, on the 27th Sept., 1604. He died on the 14th March, 1614. Lady Mary Wroth acted in the *Masque of Blackness* (6th Jan., 1606); *The Alchemist* was dedicated to her in 1610; she is addressed in *Epigrams* 103 and 105, and in *Underwoods*, 47; and her "jealous husband" is addressed in *Forest*, 3, a much-admired epistle. Lady Wroth also took part in *The May Lord* (see below, section 16, p. 35).

Lady Rutland. See note on p. 20.

chalenged. Cf. "Drayton was chalenged for intitling one book Mortimuriados" (section 12, p. 18).

My Lord Chancelor. Francis Bacon became Lord Keeper on 7th March, 1617; Lord Chancellor, 7th Jan., 1618; and Baron Verulam, 12th July, 1618. *Underwoods* 70 is addressed to him.

from the strings of his band, and other Councellurs from the pyking of their teeth.

Pembrok and his Lady discoursing, the Earl said, The woemen were mens shadowes, and she maintained them. Both appealing to Johnson, he affirmed it true; for which my Lady gave a pennance to prove it in verse, hence his epigrame.

Essex wrotte that Epistle or preface befor the translation of the last part of Tacitus, which is A. B. The last book the gentleman durst not translate for the evill it containes of the Jewes.

his epigrame. This poem is printed in *The Forest* (number 7). In spite of this very circumstantial story, the poem is not original. It is adapted from a poem by Bartholomeus Anulus Biturigis, in *Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum* (1609 edition):

MVLIER VMBRA VIRI

Umbra suum corpus radianti in lumine Solis
Cum sequitur, refugit; cum fugit, insequitur;
Tales naturae quoque sunt muliebris amores;
Optet amans; nolunt: non velit, ultro volunt.
Phoebum virgo fugit Daphne inviolata sequentem,
Echo Narcissum, dum fugit, insequitur.
Ergo voluntati plerumque adversa repugnans
Femina, iure sui dicitur umbra viri.

Jonson evidently wished Drummond to have a good opinion of his powers as a writer of impromptu verse. The third Earl of Pembroke married on 4th November, 1604, Lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. The marriage was not a happy one, and Clarendon says of it that Pembroke "paid much too dear for his wife's fortune by taking her person into the bargain".

Tacitus. "The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba. Fower bookes of the Histories of C. Tacitus. The Life of Agricola, by H. Savile." 1598. "The Annals of C. Tacitus. The Description of Germany, by Richard Greneway." 1598. In the third edition, 1604, these translations are printed together, and in the beginning of Savile's part, which is the last, is "The epistle to the reader" signed A. B. Savile is addressed in *Epig.* 95, and complimented on his Tacitus, and he is spoken of as "grave and truly lettered" in *Discoveries*, where the Earl of Essex is called "noble and high".

Jewes. The English of Elizabeth's time were so much a nation of theologians that they would not have considered Tacitus' highly amusing and characteristic description of the Jews to be edifying reading. Amongst other epigrammatic sayings, the fragmentary fifth book of the *Histories* contains the famous passage about Pompey and the temple (§ 9): "inde vulgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana"; also the story of Moses and the herd of wild asses. Passages like these would have seemed blasphemous to the Elizabethans.

The King said Sir P. Sidney was no poet. Neither did he see ever any verses in England to the Scullors.

It were good that the half of the preachers of England were plain ignorants, for that either in their sermons they flatter, or strive to show their own eloquence.

[15] (not numbered in MS.)

His opinion of verses.

That he wrott all his first in prose, for so his Master, Cambden, had learned him.

That Verses stood by sense without either Colours or accent; ‖ which yett other tymes he denied. ‖

A great many epigrams were ill, because they expressed in the end, what sould have been understood, by what was said [as?] that of Sir John Davies.

[l. 419, That he wrott all his first in prose, S.; He wrote all his Verses first in Prose, F. [l. 420, had learned, S.; taught, F. [l. 425, what was said, S.; what was said before; as that of Sir *John Davies*, F.

The King said, &c. This is undoubtedly a joke, the point of which is contained in the words *in England*. James wrote a sonnet upon the death of Sidney, and had it translated into Latin by several of his courtiers. P. Sidney, F.R.Hist.S., in annotating this passage in his edition of 1900, apparently takes the passage quite seriously. John Taylor, the literary bargee, seems to have afforded Jonson an example of what a poet should not be, for in *Discoveries* he says: "If it were put to the question of the Water-rhymer's works against Spenser's I doubt not but they would find more suffrages".

they flatter. Jonson himself "would not flatter though he saw Death" (page 29).

all his first in prose. This applies only to Jonson's poems, not to his plays, in spite of the passages of *The Staple of News* embedded in *Discoveries*. An interesting example is this passage of *Disc*. "*De gratiosis*. When a virtuous man is raised, it brings gladness to his friends, grief to his enemies, and glory to his posterity. Nay, his honours are a great part of the honour of the times, when by this means he is grown to active men an example, to the slothful a spur, to the envious a punishment". Cf. *Epithalamion celebrating the nuptials of Master Hierome Weston, 1633* (15th stanza):

> Stand there; for when a noble nature's raised,
> It brings friends joy, foes grief, posterity fame;
> In him the times, no less than prince, are praised,
> And by his rise, in active men, his name
> Doth emulation stir,
> To the dull a spur
> It is, to the envious meant
> A mere upbraiding grief, and torturing punishment.

Some loved running verses, plus mihi complacet.

He imitated the description of a night from Bonifonius his Vigilium Veneris.

He scorned such verses as could be transponed.

> Wher is the man that never yett did hear
> Of faire Penelope, Ulisses Queene?
> Of faire Penelope, Ulisses Queen,
> Wher is the man that never yett did hear?

16. || Of his workes.

That the half of his Comedies were not in print.

He heth a pastorall intitled The May Lord. His own name is Alkin, Ethra the Countesse of Bedfoords,

[l. 426, F. omits 'Some loved running verses', &c.

Bonifonius. This imitation has not been preserved.

Wher is the man. The opening couplet of Sir John Davies' poem "Orchestra, or a poem on Dauncing, Iudicially prooving the true observation of time and measure in the Authenticall and laudable use of Dauncing. Ovid Art. Amand. lib. I, Si vox est, canta; si mollia brachia, salta, et quacunque potes dote placere, place. At London: printed by J. Robarts for N. Ling. 1596" (18mo, pp. 46, register A, B, C, of 8 leaves each).

Orchestra was dedicated to Richard Martin, to whom Jonson dedicated *The Poetaster.* Jonson makes fun of this couplet again on page 44.

half of his Comedies. 'Half' is probably not meant to be taken literally. Jonson may, however, possibly be alluding to comedies in which he had collaborated with other dramatists. Of his own plays only two, *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Devil is an Ass*, were at this time not in print.

The May Lord. Overbury died on 15th Sept., 1613; the Countess of Essex did not become Somerset's lady until 26th Dec., 1613. But as Lady Rutland died in August, 1612, the latest date that can be assigned to this play (if indeed it was a play) is May, 1612 (it was probably acted in May). The theory that *The May Lord* is identical with *The Sad Shepherd* is quite untenable, though Alken and a witch appear in the latter play. Fleay originated this theory; Symonds borrowed it without acknowledgment, and made it more absurd by stating that *The May Lord* was Jonson's prose version of *The Sad Shepherd*, and that Jonson had only versified it as far as Act III when he stopped. Alken does not come in mending his broken pipe, nor is there anything to identify him with Jonson. Dr. W. W. Greg, in his edition of *The Sad Shepherd* in Bang's *Materialien* (1905), states that he believes that *The May Lord* was not a play but a series of eclogues. This certainly tallies with the expression

Mogibell Overberry, the old Countesse of Suffolk ane inchanteress, other names are given to Somersets Lady, Pembrok, the Countess of Rutland, Lady Wroth. In his first storie, Alkin commeth in mending his broken pipe. Contrary to all other pastoralls he bringeth the clownes making mirth and foolish sports.

He heth intention to writt a fisher or pastorall play, and sett the stage of it in the Lowmond Lake.

That Epithalamium that wants a name in his printed Workes was made at the Earl of Essex mariage.

[l. 438, Mogibell, S.; *Mogbel*, F. [l. 439, Somersets Lady, S.; *Somerset, his Lady*, F. [l. 441, In his first storie, S.; In his first Scene, F. [l. 444, He heth intention, S.; He had also a Design, F. [l. 445, sett the stage, S.; make the Stage, F.

'first storie' in the text here (Folio reads 'first Scene').

The May Lord, whatever its nature, was probably occasional; it was written by May, 1612, at any rate; and if it was a play it was written to be performed by fine lords and ladies, who would not have cared to impersonate the majority of the characters in *The Sad Shepherd*.

Countesse of Suffolk. Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet, married the Earl of Suffolk (see p. 15) as her second husband, in 1583. She acted in the *Masque of Blackness* (1606).

fisher or pastorall play. A literary fashion started by the *Eclogae Piscatoriae* of Sannazaro (1458–1530), in their turn based upon Theocritus' Ἁλιεῖς (Idyll XXI).

Lowmond Lake. Drummond was to send Jonson "descriptions of the Lowmond" (see page 53); in a letter of Jonson's (Folio edition of Drummond, 1711, p. 154) he asks for "some things concerning the Loch of Lomound" (10th May, 1619); and in a letter dated July 1st, 1619, Drummond says: "In my last I sent you a Description of Lough-Lomound with a Map of Inch-merinoch, which maye by your booke be made most famous".

Epithalamium. There is an equal lack of precision in the title of *A Challenge at Tilt*, written for Lady Essex's second wedding. Lady Essex got a decree of nullity, 25th Sept., 1613 (ten days after Overbury died), and married Somerset on 26th Dec., 1613. In Sept., 1615 (when Jonson would probably be seeing his 1616 folio through the press), she was accused of having poisoned Overbury; she pleaded guilty in May, 1616, and received a pardon in July, 1616. In the 1616 folio the Masque is entitled *Hymenaei, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage*. The 1606 quarto edition mentions the names of the bridegroom and bride.

He is to writt his foot Pilgrimage hither, and to call it a Discoverie.

In a poem he calleth Edinborough

The heart of Scotland, Britaines other eye.

A play of his, upon which he was accused, the Divell is ane Ass; according to Comedia Vetus, in England the Divell was brought in either with one Voice or other: the play done the Divel caried away the Vice, he brings in the Divel so overcome with the wickednes of this age that thought himself ane Ass. Παρεργως is discoursed of the Duke of Drounland: the King desyred him to conceal it.

He hath commented and translated Horace Art of Poesie: it is in dialogue wayes; by Criticus he understandeth Dr Done. / The old book that goes about,

Folio 20 recto

[l. 452, heart of Scotland, F., Laing (2nd version); part of Scotland, S., Laing (*Archaeologia Scotica* version). [l. 458, Παρεργως, S.; Παρεργους, Laing, &c.

a Discoverie. A favourite idea, cf. *Tanquam explorator*, Jonson's motto written in his copy of the *Diana* of Montemayor. The last poem is alluded to in *An Execration upon Vulcan* (*Und.* 62):

among
The rest, my journey into Scotland sung,
With all the adventures.

The heart. Sibbald's MS. reads 'part', which is absurd; and Laing printed 'part' in his edition published in *Archaeologia Scotica*, Vol. 4, though he had the correct version of the line staring him in the face in the 1711 Drummond folio.

Παρεργως. This is undoubtedly the MS. reading, as well as being intelligible, which Παρεργους is not. I made this not particularly difficult emendation before seeing the MS.; Laing in both his editions, Cunningham in both his editions, Sidney in his edition, and Masson in his *Life of Drummond of Hawthornden*, all printed Παρεργους quite happily, though the last-named scholar had the grace to put a note of interrogation in brackets after it.

Horace. This same piece of information is given in section 5 (p. 8). See the notes on that passage.

The Art of English Poesie, was done 20 yeers since, and keept long in wrytte as a secret.

He had ane intention to have made a play like Plautus Amphitrio, but left it of, for that he could never find two so like others that he could persuade the spectators they were one.

17. || Of his Jeasts and Apothegms.

At what tyme Henry the 4t turnd Catholick, Pasquill had in his hand a book, and was asked by Morphorius What it was? he told him, It was gramer. Why doe ye studie gramer, being so old? asked Morphorius. Because, answered he, I have found a positive that heth no superlative, and a superlative that

[l. 468, two so like others, S.; Two so like one to the other, F.

"*The Arte of English Poesie*, Contrived into three bookes, The first of Poets and Poesie, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament. At London: Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the black-Friers, neere Ludgate, 1589." There is some doubt whether George or Richard Puttenham wrote this book, and a reasonable probability it was neither of them.

a play like Plautus Amphitrio. This must have been in Jonson's unregenerate days, before he had formulated his comedy of humours, and probably some time about 1598, when he combined the *Captivi* and the *Aulularia* to make *The Case is Altered.*

Henry the 4t. Henri IV abjured Protestantism at Saint-Denis on 23rd July, 1593, thereby ending all opposition to his occupation of the throne of France.

Pasquill, Morphorius (correctly Marforius), two celebrated statues at Rome. Pasquino was a cobbler or schoolmaster of a sarcastic nature who lived in the 15th century. When excavating the site of his shop, near the Palace Braschi, a statue of a gladiator was found in 1501, and erected by Cardinal Caraffa. It was named Pasquino or Pasquillus. Poems were attached to it, most of them attacking the Pope and high dignitaries of the Church. Marforius, the companion statue, was found in the forum on the Campus Martius; hence the name. Marforius usually asked the questions, and Pasquillus gave the answers. In Rabelais, Book II, Chapter 7 (written *circa* 1532), a list is given of the choice books of the Library of St. Victor. Among them are "Pasquilli doctoris marmorei de capreolis cum chardoneta comedendis tempore Papali ab Ecclesia interdicto", and "Marforii Bacalarii cubantis Roma de peelandis aut unskinnandis blurrandisque Cardinalium mulis" (Urquhart, 1694 edition).

wants a positive: The King of Spain is Rex Catholicus, and is not Catholicissimus; and the French King Christianissimus, yett is not Christianus.

When they drank on him he cited that of Plinie that they had calld him Ad prandium, non ad poenam et notam.

And said of that Panagyrist who wrott panagyriques in acrostics, windowes, crosses, that he was Homo miserrimae patientiae.

He scorned Anagrams; and had ever in his mouth

> Turpe est difficiles amare nugas,
> Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.

A Cook who was of ane evill lyfe, when a minister told him He would to hell; askt, What torment was

When they drank, &c. This was probably when he banqueted Camden, Selden, and others (see page 26), in which case *prandium* is perhaps purposely substituted for Pliny's *cenam*, the banquet taking place in the morning. Jonson had had previous experience of the *nota* (sign' cum l'r'a T, note on page 23). The allusion is to Pliny, *Epistles*, II. 6, "Eadem omnibus pono; ad cenam enim non ad notam invito, cunctisque rebus exaequo quos mensa et toro aequavi".

that Panagyrist. Cf. *Execration upon Vulcan* (*Und.* 62):

> those finer flams
> Of eggs and halberds, cradles and a herse,
> A pair of scisars and a comb in verse.

Puttenham had brought into fashion the writing of these trifles, which are modelled upon the Greek Pattern Poems (for which see *The Spectator*, No. 58).

acrostics. The *Execration upon Vulcan* also mentions "acrostichs on jump names". Jonson's *Epigram* 40 is an acrostic (MARGARET RATCLIFFE).

Anagrams. The quotation is from Martial, II. 86. Jonson alludes to this line in the *Execration upon Vulcan* (*Und.* 62), "Or pumped for those *hard trifles*, Anagrams". In the 1711 edition of Drummond's Works, p. 231, in an essay called "Character of a Perfect Anagram" occurs the following:—"One will say it is a frivolous Art and difficult, upon which that of Martial is current:

> Turpe est difficiles habere nugas
> Et stultus labor est ineptiarum".

habere is a better reading than *amare*. Cunningham's suggestion that Jonson was quizzing Drummond for his Mœliades is absurd, as Prince Henry gave himself this name. See my note on Mœliades on page 11.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN

After the portrait by George Jamesone

He said to me, that I was too good and simple, and that oft a mans modestie made a fool of his witt

Conversations, 17 (p. 48)

there? Being ansuered Fyre. Fire (said he), that is my play-fellow.

A Lord playing at Tenis, and having asked those in the Gallerie Whither a strock was Chase or Losse? A Brother of my Lord Northumberlands answered, it was Loss. The Lord demanded If he did say it? I say it, said he, what are yow? I have played your worth! said the Lord. Ye know not the worth of a gentleman! replyed the other. And it proved so, for err he died he was greater then the other. Ane other English Lord lossed all his game, if he had seen a face that liked him not, he stroke his balls at that Gallerie.

Ane English man who had maintained Democritus opinion of atomes, being old, wrott a book to his son (who was not then six years of age), in which he left him arguments to maintain, and answer objections, for all that was in his book; only, if they objected obscuritie against his book, he bid him answer, that his Father, above all names in the world, hated most the name of Lucifer, and all open writters were Luciferi.

Chase, applied to the second impact on the floor (or in a gallery) of a ball which the opponent has failed or declined to return, the value of which is determined by the nearness of the spot of impact to the end wall. If the opponent on sides being changed can 'better' this stroke, i.e. cause his ball to rebound nearer the wall, he wins and scores it; if not, it is scored by the first player; until so decided it is a stroke in abeyance. Cf. Florio, *Second Frutes*, 25 (1591): "H. I have two chaces. T. The last was not a chace but a losse. H. Why is it a losse? T. Because you stroke it at the second rebound." Also Rabelais, I. 58 (Urquhart, 1694 ed., p. 230): "After the two Chases are made, he that was at the upper end of the tennis-court goeth out, and the other cometh in". See also Shak., *Henry V*, I. 2. 266.

Brother of my Lord Northumberlands. Possibly Sir Josceline Percy, of whom two 'Jeasts' are told further on in this section.

Ane English man. I have been unable to identify this book or its author.

Butlar excommunicat from his table all reporters of long poems, wilfull disputers, tedious discoursers: the best banquets were those wher they mistered no musitians to chase tym.

The greatest sport he saw in France was the picture of our Saviour with the Apostles eating the Pascall lamb that was all larded.

At a supper wher a gentlewoman had given him unsavoury wild-foul, and therafter, to wash, sweet water; he commended her that she gave him sweet water, because her flesh stinked.

Butlar. This is probably William Butler, born 1535, died 29th Jan., 1618, the doctor who attended Prince Henry in his last illness (1612). Butler had a great reputation both as a physician and as an eccentric. He introduced some of the doctrines of Paracelsus into medicine, and appears to have invented a sort of ale. According to Izaak Walton (*Compleat Angler*, The Fourth Day), "Dr. Boteler said of strawberries, 'Doubtless God could have made a better berry, but doubtless God never did'". He was buried in Great St. Mary's, Cambridge; on his monument he is called "Medicorum omnium quos praesens aetas vidit facile Princeps".

long poems. Cf. *Leges Convivales*, 18, Insipida poemata nulla recitantor; and 12, At fabulis magis quam vino velitatio fiat.

mistered. mister = to need, be in want of, have occasion for (Jamieson). Sidney reads 'ministered'!

musitians. A reminiscence of Martial, IX. 77:

> Quod optimum sit quaeritis convivium?
> In quo choraules non erit.

Cf. *Leges Convivales*, 15, Fidicen, nisi accersitus, non venito.

Volume VIII of the Hawthornden MSS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh, is entitled "Democritie, a labyrinth of delight, or worke preparative for the Apologie of Democritus; Containing the Pasquills, Apotheames, Impresas, Anagrames, Epitaphes, Epigrames, in French, Italiane, Spanish, Latine, of this and the late age before. Eleutheropoli Free-Brough". This MS. contains several of these jests.

The greatest sport. Hawthornden MSS.: "That he saw in Paris the pourtrait of our Sauiour and his Disciples, eating the Pasch Lamb which was larded". In spite of this alternative reading *Paris*, the picture which Jonson saw was almost certainly "The Last Supper" by Dirk Bouts (1410–75), the central panel of an altar-piece painted for St. Peter's Church, Louvain. The picture was painted about 1467. Louvain might have been loosely spoken of as being in France.

At a supper. Hawthornden MSS.: "B. J. told mee, that he said to a gentlewoman who had given him vnsauorye wild-foule to his supper, and thereafter sweet water to wash in, shee did well to give him sweet water, for her flesh stinked".

He said to Prince Charles of Inigo Jones, that when he wanted words to express the greatest villaine in the world, he would call him ane Inigo.

Jones having accused him for naming him, behind his back, A foole: he denied it; but, sayes he, I said, He was ane arrant knave, and I avouch it.

One who fired a Tobacco pipe with a ballet the next day having a sore head, swoare he had a great singing in his head, and he thought it was the ballet: a Poet should detest a Ballet maker.

He saw a picture painted by a bad painter, of Easter, Haman, and Assuerus, Haman courting Esther, in a bed after the fashion of ours, was only seen by one leg. Assuerus back was turned, with this verse over him, And wilt thou, Haman, be so malitious as to lye with myne own wyfe in myne house?

He himselfe being once so taken, the Goodman said, I would not believe yee would abuse my house so.

Folio 29 verso

/ In a profound contemplation a student of Oxeford ran over a man in the fields, and walked 12 miles ere he knew what he was doing.

He said to Prince Charles. Hawth. MSS.: "Jonson said to Prince Charles that when he wanted words to sett forth a knave, he would name him an Inigo". A pun on 'iniquo' is intended. Cf. Iniquo Vitruvius in *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* (1634).

One who fired, &c. Hawth. MSS.: "One who had fired a pipe of tobacco with a ballet sweare he heard the singing of it in his head thereafter the space of two dayes". Cf. also *Discoveries*: "We shall hear those things commended and cried up for the best writings which a man would scarce vouchsafe to wrap any wholesome drug in; he would never light his tobacco with them".

And wilt thou. The exact words (*Esther*, vii. 8) in the Vulgate are: "Etiam reginam vult opprimere me praesente in domo mea"; and in the A.V.: "Will he force the queen also before me in the house?"

One who wore side hair being asked of ane other who was bald, why he suffered his haire to grow so long, answered, It was to sie if his haire would grow to seed, that he might sow of it on bald pates.

A Painter who could paint nothing but a rose, when ane Innkeeper had advised with him about ane ensing, said, That a horse was a good one, so was a hare, but a rose was above them all.

A litle man drinking Prince Henries health between two tall fellowes, said, He made up the H.

Sir Henry Wotton, befor his Majesties going to England, being disguised at Lieth on Sunday, when all the rest were at Church, being interrupted of his occupation by ane other wenche who came in at the

One who wore side hair. This joke is also in the Hawthornden MSS. It is introduced into *The Staple of News*, Act III, Sc. 1:

> A precept for the wearing of long hair
> To run to seed, to sow bald pates withal.

A Painter, &c. Cf. *The Staple of News*, Act IV, Sc. 1:

> It is his rose, he can make nothing else;

and *The Sad Shepherd*, Prologue:

> When he like poet yet remains as those
> Are painters who can only make a rose.

Wotton. Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, says that after Wotton had gone from Rome to Florence, about a year before Queen Elizabeth died, Ferdinand the Great Duke of Florence intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then King of Scots. The Duke sent Wotton in the disguise of an Italian to Scotland, with letters and Italian antidotes against poison. "He took up the name and language of an Italian", and posted through Norway into Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. He was admitted as Octavio Baldi—"he whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised and really performed by the King during all his abode there, which was about three months: all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself as that country could afford, from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither". Some further remarks upon Wotton are to be found in my notes on page 12 above. It is extremely probable that Wotton was the model from which Jonson drew the character of Sir Politick Would-be in *Volpone*.

door, cryed out, "Pox on the, for thou hast hindered the procreation of a chyld", and betrayed himself.

A Justice of Peace would have comanded a Captaine to sit first at a table, because, sayes he, I am a Justice of Peace; the other drawing his suord comanded him, for sayeth he, I am a Justice of War.

What is that, that the more yow cut of it, groweth still the longer?—A Ditch.

He used to say, that they who delight to fill men extraordinarie full in their own houses, loved to have their meate againe.

A certain Puritain minister would not give the Communion save unto 13 at once: (imitating, as he thought, our Master). Now, when they were sett, and one bethinkinge himself that some of them must represent Judas, that it sould not be he returned, and so did all the rest, understanding his thought.

A Gentlewoman fell in such a phantasie or phrensie with one Mr. Dod, a puritan preacher, that she requeested her husband that, for the procreation of ane Angel or Saint, he might lye with her; which having obtained, it was but ane ordinarie birth.

the more yow cut of it. This is undoubtedly the MS. reading, besides being excellent sense. Laing in both his editions prints "the more yow out of it", which Sidney sophisticates into "the more you take out of it".

Mr. Dod. The Reverend John Dod, familiarly called 'Decalogue Dod', and author of a famous sermon on malt, was scholar and fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and was suspended for nonconformity in 1604. These two unedifying stories about Puritans, together with the entry in *Discoveries* commencing "Puritanus hypocrita est haereticus", and the portraits of Puritans in *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*, show us clearly Jonson's views on those whom he calls "the sourer sort of shepherds" in *The Sad Shepherd*, Act I, Sc. 2.

Scaliger writtes ane epistle to Casawbon, wher he scorns his Englishe speaking of Latine, for he thought he had spoken English to him.

A Gentleman reading a poem that began with

> Wher is that man that never yet did hear
> Of fair Penelope, Ulisses Queene?

calling his Cook, asked If he had ever hard of her? Who ansuering, No, demonstrate to him,

> Lo, ther the man that never yet did hear
> Of fair Penelope, Ulisses Queene!

A waiting woman having cockered with muskadel and eggs her mistresse page, for a shee meeting in the dark, his mistress invaded; of whom she would of such boldness have a reason. "Faith, Lady (said hee) I have no reason, save that such was the good pleasure of muscadel and eggs."

A Judge comming along a hall, and being stopped by a throng, cried "Dominum cognoscite vestrum".

Scaliger. The epistle is not to Casaubon but to Stephanus Ubertus. See Scaliger, *Epistles*, Book IV, Epistle 362 (p. 700 of octavo edition published in 1627): "Anglorum vero etiam doctissimi tam prave Latina efferunt, ut in hac urbe quum quidam ex ea gente per quadrantem horae integrum apud me verba fecisset, neque ego magis eum intelligerem, quam si Turcice loquutus fuisset, hominem rogaverim, ut excusatum me haberet, quod Anglice non bene intelligerem. Ille qui eum ad me deduxerat, tantum cachinnum sustulit, ut mea non minus interfuerit pudere, quam ipsius ridere." That Jonson himself used the English pronunciation is made clear by *Every Man in his Humour*, Act IV, Sc. 1, where Edward Knowell jokes upon *incipere* and *insipere*.

Wher is that man. Once more the unfortunate opening couplet of *Orchestra*. See my note on section 15 (p. 34). Drummond is at least consistent in his misquotation of this passage, which ought to read:

> Where lives the man that never yet did hear
> Of chaste Penelope, Ulysses' Queen?

Dominum cognoscite vestrum. The line is from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III. 230. Actaeon, who is described in line 139 as having "alienaque cornua fronti | addita", was taken by the Elizabethans as the prototype of a cuckold. Cf. *Merry Wives*, III. 2. 44.

One of them ther said, They would, if he durst say the beginning of that verse (for he had a fair wyfe): "Actaeon ego sum", cryed he, and went on.

A packet of letters which had fallen over boord was devored of a Fish that was tane at Flushing, and the letters were safely delivered to him to whom they were written at London.

He scorned that simplicitie of Cardan about the peeble stone of Dover, which he thought had that vertue, keeped betweene ones teeth, as to save him from being sick.

Folio 30 recto

/ A schollar expert in Latine and Greke, but nothing in the English, said of hott broath, that he would make the danger of it: for it could not be ill English that was good Latine, facere periculum.

A translatour of the Emperours lyves, translated Antonius Pius, Antonie Pye.

The word Harlott was taken from Arlotte, who was the mother of William the Conquerour; a Rogue from the Latine Erro, by putting a G to it.

Cardan. I have so far been unable to trace this passage in the voluminous works of Cardan.

Emperours lyves, i.e. "The booke of the life of the noble and eloquent Mark Aurelye Anthony, Emperour", a small black-letter volume printed in the early sixteenth century.

The word Harlott, &c. The derivation of Harlot is thus given by Minsheu (1617 folio, p. 228), "metonym: ab Harlotha, Roberti ducis Normandiae Concubina. Exinde enim meretrices in Anglia nomen hoc sortitas asserit Cambd: Harlot first took the name of Harlotha the Concubine to William the Conquerour, as master Camden writeth". William Lambarde first suggested this derivation in about 1570.

Rogue. This derivation is to be classed among the 'Jeasts' rather than among the 'Apothegms'. Minsheu, who should know the derivation of this word, as he was a rogue (see page 6 *supra*), derives it thus (1617 folio, p. 422): "Rogue, forte quod ostiatim rogat, vel a Sax: Roagh, i. malignari",

Sr Geslaine Piercy asked the Maior of Plimmouth, Whether it was his own Beard or the Towns Beard that he came to wellcome my Lord with? for, he thought, it was so long that he thought every one of the Town had eked some part to it.

That he stroke at Sr Hierosme Bowes breast, and asked him If he was within.

An epitaph was made upon one who had a long beard,

Here lyes a man at a beards end, etc.

He said to the King, his master, M. G. Buchanan, had corrupted his eare when young, and learned him to sing verses when he sould have read them.

Sr Francis Walsingham said of our King, when he

Sr Geslaine Piercy. Hawthornden MSS.: "Sir Geslmne Piercy prayed the Maior of Plumouth (who had a great long beard) to tell him whether it was his own beard or the beard of the Cittie? for he could not thinke one man alone could have so hudge a beard". Sir Josceline Percy, who died in 1631, was a son of the 8th Earl of Northumberland.

That he stroke. The 'he' refers to Sir Josceline Percy, as this 'Jeast' is preserved in the Hawthornden MSS. in this form:— "S. G. P. beate once upon S. J. B. brest, and asked If Sr Jerosme was within". Jonson twice repeated this jest in his later plays, *The Devil is an Ass*, Act I, Sc. 3:

Wittipol. Friend Manly, who's within here? Fixed? (*Knocks him on the breast.*)

and *New Inn*, Act I, Sc. 1:

Host. What say you, sir? where are you? are you within? (*Strikes Lovel on the breast.*)

Sir Jerome Bowes, who was buried 28th March, 1616, was chiefly famous for having been ambassador to Russia in 1583, and for having been a formidable asserter of the rights of ambassadors.

long beard. The point of these jests about beards lies in the fact that Jonson's own beard was ludicrously scanty. These lines are preserved in the Hawth. MSS.: "Epitaphe of a Longe Bearde—

At a Beards end, heere lies a man,
The odds 'tween them was scarce a span;
Living, with his wombe it did meet,
And now dead, it covers his feet."

M. G. Buchanan. George Buchanan resided at Stirling as tutor to James VI from 1570 to 1578, i.e. from when the King was four to when he was twelve. Jonson may have had in mind Quint. *Inst. Or.*, I. 8, "de quo genere optime C. Caesarem praetextatum adhuc accepimus dixisse 'Si cantas, male cantas, si legis, cantas'".

Walsingham. Sir Francis Walsingham

was Ambassadour in Scotland, Hic nunquam regnabit super nos.

Of all his Playes he never gained 2 hundreth pounds. He had oft this verse, though he scorned it:

> So long as we may, let us enjoy this breath,
> For nought doth kill a man so soone as Death.

One Mister Guyse told the King of a man who being consumed occupied his wyfe with a dildoe, and she never knew of it till on day he all slepperie had ther left his.

Heywood the Epigrammatist being apparelled in velvet by Queen Mary, with his cap on in the presence, in spight of all the Gentlemen, till the Queen herself asked him what he meaned? and then he asked her, If he was Heywood? for she had made him so brave that he almost had misknowen himself.

His Impresa was a Compass with one foot in Center,

went to Scotland most unwillingly in August, 1583. His object was to persuade James not to negotiate with Spain on behalf of his mother. The Latin remark is probably intended to be a quotation from the Vulgate, *Luke*, xix. 14, "Nolumus hunc regnare super nos".

So long as we may, &c. Cf. Petronius, *Satiricon*, § 34:

> Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet Orcus,
> Ergo vivamus dum licet esse, bene.

One Mister Guyse, &c. Laing omits this anecdote.

occupied. Cf. Shak., *2 Hen. IV*, ii. 4. 159; also Jonson, *Epig.* 117, and *Discoveries*, De Stylo. Cf. also "occupation", p. 42 *supra*.

dildoe. Cf. Fryer (1698), *Acc. E. India*, 179, "Under the Banyan Tree an Altar with a Dildo in the middle being erected, they offer Rice".

slepperie, i.e. sleepy. Cf. Coverdale, *Isaiah*, v. 27, "There is not one faynt nor feble among them, no nor a slogish nor slepery parsone".

left his. For this sudden breaking off, cf. "wanted the half of his", p. 21.

Heywood. Heywood, who was John Donne's maternal grandfather (page 18), was a determined Catholic, and a sort of superior jester at the court of Queen Mary.

she had made him so brave. Cf. *Tale of a Tub*, Act V, Sc. 2:

> But she was so disguised, so lady-like,
> I think she did not know herself the while.

the other broken, the word, Deest quod duceret orbem.

Essex, after his brothers death, Mr D'Evreux, in France, at tilt had a black shield void, the word, Par nulla figura dolori. Ane other tyme, when the Queen was offended at him, a diamond with its own ashes, with which it is cutt, about it the word, Dum formas minuis.

He gave the Prince, Fax gloria mentis honestae.

He said to me, that I was too good and simple, and that oft a mans modestie made a fool of his witt.

His armes were three spindles or rhombi, his own word about them, Percunctator or Perscrutator.

[l. 660, Percunctator, scripsi; so also Laing's earlier version, and Gregory Smith, p. 298 of his *Ben Jonson*; Percunctabor, S., Laing, Cunningham.

Mr. D'Evreux. Walter Devereux, son of the 1st Earl of Essex, was born in 1569, and killed in a skirmish before Rouen, 8th Sept., 1591.

the Prince. Almost certainly Prince Charles. Philip Sidney, F.R.Hist.S., is alone in thinking that Prince Henry is meant. This motto, in the form *Fax mentis honestae gloria*, is the motto of the Nova Scotia baronets, first created by Charles, 28th May, 1625. These baronetcies were popular, as they only cost £166, 13*s.* 4*d.*, comparing favourably in this respect with the Ulster ones, which cost £1095. An ordinance of 17th Nov., 1629, allowed the Nova Scotia baronets to wear "an orange taunie silk ribbon whereon shall be pendant in a scutcheon argent, a saltire azure, thereon an inescutcheon of the armes of Scotland, with an Imperial Crowne above the scutcheon, and encircled with this motto, Fax mentis honestae gloria".

three spindles or rhombi. Addington Symonds (*Ben Jonson*, p. 2) has shown conclusively that the three spindles or rhombi are to be identified with the "Or three fusils in fesse, sable", which Burke gives as one coat of the Johnstones of Annandale. This identification, however, does not prove, as Symonds seems to think it does, that Ben was really descended from the Johnstones of Annandale. If he supplied himself, perhaps half in jest, with a pedigree, mere consistency would compel him to adopt the Johnstones' coat of arms.

Percunctator is the better reading, as it makes the word a noun like *Perscrutator* and *Explorator* (found on the title-page of Jonson's copy of the *Diana* of Montemayor). This word is used by Horace, *Ep.* I. 18, 69:

Percunctatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est.

His Epitaph, by a companion written, is

Here lyes Benjamin Johnson dead,
And hath no more wit than goose in his head,
That as he was wont, so doth he still
Live by his wit, and evermore will.

Ane other.

Here lyes honest Ben
That had not a beard on his chen.

18. || Miscellanes.

John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle, and was of his craft a tailour. He and I walking alone, he asked two criples, what they would have to take him to their order.

In his Sejanus he hath translated a whole oration of

His Epitaph. These lines are also found in the Hawth. MSS., where they are headed "B. Johnson, his Epitaph, told to mee by himselfe: not made by him". "It was no uncommon sport for wits at social meetings of the period to suggest impromptu epitaphs for themselves and their friends" (cf. the series of epitaphs, written by members of "The Club", which provoked Goldsmith into writing *Retaliation*). "Archdeacon Plume, in a manuscript note-book now in the corporation archives of Maldon, Essex, assigns to Shakespeare (on Bishop Hacket's authority) the feeble mock epitaph on Ben weakly expanded thus:

Here lies Benjamin... w[it]h littl hair
up[on] his chin
Who w[hi]l[e] he lived w[as] a slow th[ing],
and now he is d[ea]d is noth[ing]."

(Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 474.)

John Stow. Stow published *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* in 1561, and *The Chronicles of England from Brute unto this present Yeare of Christ, collected by John Stowe, Citizen of London*, in 1580. Stow was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors' Company on 25th November, 1547. Although very poor, he is said to have spent £200 a year on books. When they took this walk, Stow must have been well over seventy and Jonson under thirty years of age. The joke turns on his poverty and decrepitude.

Sejanus. This is the long speech of Cremutius Cordus (Act III, Sc. 1, 54 lines) translated from the *Annals*, IV. 34, 35. The criticism of the translation of Tacitus refers not to Savile's version of the *Histories*, as Laing imagines, but to *The Annals of C. Tacitus, The Description of Germany*, by Richard Greneway, 1598. The story of Sejanus is found in the *Annals*, chiefly in books 3 and 4. The fifth book of the *Annals* is a mere fragment.

Tacitus: the first four bookes of Tacitus ignorantly done in Englishe.

Folio 30 verso

/ J. Selden liveth on his owne, is the Law book of the Judges of England, the bravest man in all languages; his booke Titles of Honour, written to his chamber-fellow Heyward.

Tailor was sent along here to scorn him.

Cambden wrot that book Remaines of Bretagne.

Joseph Hall the harbenger to Dones Anniversarie.

The epigrame of Martial XI in Verpum he vantes to expone.

[l. 684, XI in Verpum, R. F. P.; Vin Verpùm, S.; *Vir verpium*, Laing, &c.

Titles of Honour (1614) has a long dedication to "my most beloved friend and chamberfellow, Edward Heyward of Cardeston, in Norfolk, Esq". Jonson mentions Heyward in the "Epistle to Master John Selden" prefixed to this book (*Und.* 31).

Tailor. Jonson had good reason to suspect that Taylor was sent along here to scorn him, for Taylor had mercilessly travestied Coryate in his *Three Weekes, Three daies and Three hours Observations and Travell from London to Hamburgh in Germanie* (4to, 1617), dedicated to 'Sir' Thomas Coryate. Jonson wished to make sure that Taylor would not mock him, hence the *argumentum ad crumenam* ("a piece of gold of two and twenty shillings"). See Introduction for extracts from "*The Pennylesse Pilgrimage . . . or the Money-lesse Perambulation . . . from London to Edenborough, 1618*". Taylor undertook to travel on foot from London to Edinburgh without taking a penny in his pocket, or begging, borrowing, or asking meat, drink, or lodging. He left London on 14th July, 1618, got as far as Braemar, saw Jonson in September, and was back in London by 18th October.

Cambden. Remains concerning Britain was published anonymously in 1605.

Bishop Hall was (1600–8) rector of Hawsted, Suffolk, where Sir R. Drury lived.

Anniversarie. "Of the Progresse of the Soule, wherein by occasion of the Religious death of Mistris Elizabeth Drury the incommodities of the Soule in this life, and her exaltation in the next are contemplated. The second Anniversary, 1612." "The Harbinger to the Progresse" consists of 42 lines, in couplets.

epigrame of Martial. Laing and the other editors were content to print the nonsensical phrase "Vir verpium". I have restored the correct reading in the text above. Martial, Book XI, Epigram 94, is entitled "In Verpum Aemulum". The last line, "iura, verpe, per Anchialum", is a celebrated crux, which many besides Jonson have vaunted that they have exponed. Jonson's friend Selden, in the Prolegomena to his *De Successionibus ad leges Ebraeorum in bona*

Lucan, Sidney, Guarini, make every man speak as well as themselves, forgetting decorum; || for Dametas || sometymes speaks grave sentences.

Lucan taken in parts excellent, alltogidder naught.

He dissuaded me from Poetrie, for that she had beggered him, when he might have been a rich lawer, physitian, or marchant.

Questioned about English *them*, *they*, *those*. *They* is still the nominative, *those* accusative, *them* newter; collective, not *them* men, *them* trees, but *them* by it self referrd to many. *Which*, *who*, be relatives, not *that*. *Flouds*, *hilles* he would have masculines.

He was better versed, and knew more in Greek and Latin, than all the Poets in England, and quintessenceth their braines.

[l. 699, quintessenceth, R. F. P.; quintessence, S., Laing, &c.

defunctorum (pub. London, 1631), devotes several pages to a discussion of "illud Martialis lib. ix (sic) Epig. xcv (sic) ad verpum poetam", and suggests reading "iperan chiolam" (= vindictam sumat is qui vivit in aeternum), a form of Hebrew oath. Farnaby's Martial, the edition used by Jonson in all probability, has a long note on this passage. Joseph Scaliger reads "Anchialum" in his *Prolegomena ad libros de emendatione temporum*, "Anchialus putatur esse nomen divinum apud Judaeos, per deum viventem, vel per eum qui vivit in aeternum". Isaac Voss ad Pompon. Mel., I. 8, "negat hanc vocem Hebraicam esse, cuius linguae imperitissimus fuit Martialis, et legit Ancharium, id est asinum" (for the ass-deity cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, V. 4). N. Rigaltius "Martialis puerum fuisse autumnat". Among more modern scholars Friedländer thinks that Anchialus is "some Rothschild of Jerusalem". Doctor Rouse, whom I consulted on the point, thinks Anchialus is "likely a man of whom we know nothing".

Lucan, *Sidney*, &c. This criticism has already been given on Sidney (page 2), and on Guarini (page 7). Dametas is a character in *Arcadia* (see page 18 above), called in Book I "the most arrant doltish clown that I think ever was without the privilege of a bauble".

Lucan taken in parts, &c. This criticism has already been given on page 7.

Flouds, *hilles*. Jonson gives another arbitrary list of masculine nouns in *The English Grammar*, Chapter X. He is thinking of the Latin grammar, afterwards versified:

> A man, month, *mountain*, *river*, wind,
> And people masculine we find.

quintessenceth, my emendation, is the

He made much of that Epistle of Plinius, wher Ad prandium, non ad notam is and that other of Marcellinus, who Plinie made to be removed from the table, and of the grosse turbat.

One wrote ane Epigrame to his father, and vanted he had slain ten, the quantity of *decem* being false. An other answered the Epigrame, telling that *decem* was false.

S. J. Davies Epigrame of the whoores C. compared to a Coule.

Of all stiles he loved most to be named honest,

correct reading, the 'th' having dropped out in the MS. in front of 'their' owing to haplography. Cf. Drummond, 1711 folio, p. 226, "who quintessenceth it in the finest substance": also p. 170 (in *Irene*), "For quintessencing and alembicking thee, and using thee as alchymists do gold". Also King James I, *Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poetry* (1585), "I quintessence the Poets soule".

Ad prandium, non ad notam. Pliny, *Epistles*, II. 6. Already misquoted on page 38.

Marcellinus. This is, I believe, a mistake for *Messalinus*, and *Plinie* was written in error instead of *Juvenal.* Catullus Messalinus and Veiento both form the subject of an anecdote told by Pliny, *Epistles*, IV, 22. The cruelty and baseness of the blind Messalinus were being spoken of in the presence of the equally base Veiento and the emperor Nerva. The emperor asked, "Quid putamus passurum fuisse, si viveret?"; Mauricus answered, "Nobiscum cenaret." Veiento and Messalinus are also coupled together in a line in Juvenal, *Satire* IV ("the grosse turbat"), and it is said of Messalinus, whom Juvenal calls merely Catullus:

"nemo magis rhombum stupuit; nam plurima dixit
in laevum conversus, at illi dextra iacebat
belua."

Therefore I think "who Plinie made to be removed from the table" means "whom Juvenal represented as being distant from the table where the turbot lay". This explanation at any rate links together "Marcellinus" and "the grosse turbat". The picture of the blind man making his oration in the wrong direction is just the sort of thing that would strike Jonson's imagination. The conversation, then, would seem to have taken this turn:—Jonson's misfortunes in connection with *Eastward Ho*—his apt quotation from Pliny—Sir James Murray—other informers, such as Veiento and Messalinus—Pliny's epistle about them—Juvenal's mention of them—the monster turbot.

the grosse turbat. The reference is almost certainly to Juvenal, *Satire* IV, where the 'spatium admirabile rhombi' (line 39) causes a solemn meeting of the Cabinet.

Sir J. Davies Epigrame. Cunningham identifies this with *Epigram* 8, *In Katam.* The simile, however, is not identical with that which Drummond jotted down, but the lofty thought is much the same.

and hath of that ane hundreth letters so naming him.

He had this oft:

> Thy flattering picture, Phrenee, is lyke the
> Only in this, that ye both painted be.

In his merry humor he was wont to name himself The Poet.

He went from Lieth homeward the 25 of January 1619, in a pair of shoes which, he told, lasted him since he came from Darnton, which he minded to take back that farr againe; they were appearing like Coriats: the first two dayes he was all excoriate.

If he died by the way, he promised to send me his papers of this Country, hewen as they were.

I have to send him descriptions of Edinbrough Borrow-lawes, of the Lowmond.

[l. 724, Edinbrough, Borrow-lawes, S.; Laing (1st version) Edinbrough, Borrow-lands; (2nd version) Edinbrough, Borrow Lawes.

Thy flattering picture. This epigram is printed in Donne's Poems, 1669 edition, p. 64.

Darnton. Almost certainly Darlington. Darlington is 163 miles from Edinburgh.

Coriats. Thomas Coryate (1577–1617), the author of "*Coryat's Crudities, Hastilie gobled up in five moneths Travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia,...Helvetia,...Germany, and the Netherlands, newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the County of Somerset, and now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling members of this kingdom*" (1611). In 1612 Coryate formally hung up in the church at Odcombe (where his father had been rector) the shoes in which he had walked from Venice. The shoes were still there at the beginning of the 18th century.

excoriate. Jonson thus showed himself (according to Dennis's dictum) a potential pickpocket. The joke, however, was not original, as in the Panegyric Verses prefixed to *Coryat's Crudities* (1611) we find:

> He more prevailed against the 'xcoriate Jewes
> Then Broughton could.

The epithet was probably suggested by Horace, *Sat.*, Bk. I, 9, 70.

Edinbrough Borrow-lawes, i.e. Edinburgh by-laws. In a letter of Jonson's (Drum. Folio, p. 155) he asks for some things "touching the Government of Edinburgh, to urge Mr. James Scot" (10th May, 1619); and in a letter dated July 1st, 1619, Drummond says: "In my last I sent you . . . the form of the Government of Edenbrough".

Lowmond. See note on page 35.

That piece of the Pucelle of the Court was stollen out of his pocket by a gentleman who drank him drousie, and given Mistriss Boulstraid; which brought him great displeasur.

19. || He sent to me this Madrigal:

ON A LOVERS DUST, MADE SAND FOR ANE HOURE GLASSE.

Doe but consider this smal dust here running in the glasse
by atomes moved,
Could thou believe that this the bodie ever was
of one that loved?
And, in his Mistresse flaming playing like the Flye,
turnd to cinders by her eye?
Yes, and in death as lyfe unblest
to have it exprest,
Even ashes of lovers find no rest.

[l. 734, Could thou, S.; Could you, Drum. Folio, p. 155. [l. 736, flaming, S.; Flame, Drum. Folio.

Pucelle. See note on page 10. The piece is *Underwoods* 68, *On the Court Pucell.*

On a Lovers Dust, &c. This poem is imitated from the Latin of Hieronymus Amaltheus (in *Delitiae Poetarum Italorum*, 1608 edition, p. 73):

De horologio pulvereo

Perspicuus vitro pulvis qui dividit horas
Cum vagus angustum saepe recurrit iter,
Olim erat Alcippus, qui Gallae ut vidit ocellos
Arsit, et est subito factus ab igne cinis.
Irrequiete cinis, miseros testabere amantes
More tuo nulla posse quiete frui.

It is printed in the 1711 folio edition of Drummond's Works (p. 155), where it is prefaced: "To the Honouring Respect Born to the Friendship contracted with The Right Virtuous and Learned Mr. William Drummond, And the Perpetuating the same by all Offices of Love Hereafter, I, Benjamin Johnson, whom he hath honoured with the Leave to be called His, have with mine own Hand, to satisfy his Request, Written this Imperfect Song." A slightly different version of this poem is in Jonson's Works (1692 folio, p. 551):

The Hour-Glass

Do but consider this small Dust,
Here running in the Glass,
By Atomes mov'd;
Could you believe, that this
The Body was
Of one that lov'd?
And in his Mrs. Flame, playing like a Fly,
Turned to Cinders by her Eye?
Yes; and in Death, as Life unblest,
To have 't exprest,
Even ashes of Lovers find no rest.

Folio 31 recto / And this which is (as he said) a picture of himselfe.

I doubt that love is rather deafe than blinde,
For else it could not bee,
That shee,
Whom I adore so much should so slight mee,
And cast my sute behinde.
I am sure my language to her is as sweet,
And all my closes meet
In numbers of as subtile feete
As makes the youngest hee
That sits in shadow of Apollos tree.
O! but my conscious feares,
That flye my thoughts betweene,
Prompt mee, that shee hath seene
My hundred of gray haires,
Told six and forty yeares,
Read so much waste, as she cannot embrace
My mountaine belly, and my rockye face,
And all these, through her eies, have stopd her eares.

January 19, 1619.

a picture of himselfe. This poem is also printed in the 1711 folio edition of Drummond's Works, where it is prefaced: "Yet that Love, when it is at full, may admit Heaping, receive another; and this a Picture of my self."

A slightly different version of this poem is in Jonson's Works (1692 folio, p. 551):

My Picture left in Scotland

I now think, Love is rather deaf than blind,
For else it could not be
That she
Whom I adore so much, should so slight me,
And cast my Love behind:
I'm sure my Language to her, was as sweet,
And every close did meet
In Sentence, of as subtil Feet
As hath the youngest He,
That sits in shadow of Apollo's Tree.
Oh, but my conscious Fears,
That fly my thoughts between,
Tell me that she hath seen
My Hundreds of Gray Hairs,
Told Seven and Forty Years.
Read so much waste, as she cannot embrace,
My Mountain Belly and my Rocky Face,
And all these through her Eyes have stopt her Ears.

January 19, 1619. This date belongs to the poem, not to the summing-up, as in the

He is a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to losse a friend than a jest, jealous of every word and action of those about him, (especiallie after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth), a dissembler of ill parts which raigne in him, a bragger of some good that he wanteth, thinketh nothing well bot what either he himself or some of his friends and countrymen hath said or done, he is passionatly kynde and angry, careless either to gaine or keep, vindicative, but, if he be well answered, at himself.

For any religion, as being versed in both. Interpreteth best sayings and deeds often to the worst. Oppressed with fantasie, which hath over-mastered his reason, a generall disease in many poets. His inventions are smooth and easie; but above all he excelleth in a Translation.

[l. 766, liveth, S.; lived, F. [l. 767, ill parts, S.; the Parts, F. [l. 768, well, S.; well done, F. [l. 769, friends and countrymen, S.; F. omits 'and countrymen'. [l. 771, vindicative, S.; vindicive, F. [l. 775, over-mastered, F.; ever mastered, S.

1711 folio edition of Drummond's Works, p. 155, this poem is printed with this date, Jan. 19, 1619, below it. Moreover, Jonson's departure from Leith on 25th January has already been referred to on page 53.

inventions, i.e. original poems. Cf. Drummond, 1711 folio, p. 227 (of Sylvester): "He is not happy in his inventions". A worse criticism than this of Drummond's has hardly ever been "made in Germany" even. A more correct criticism would be: "His original poems are rough and produced with difficulty, and his translations are beyond measure bad". Swinburne (p. 111, *A Study of Ben Jonson*) has said that "a worse translator than Ben Jonson never committed a double outrage on two languages at once". Prof. Gregory Smith, however, says that Drummond "may be hinting at his happy acquisitiveness rather than his ceremonious Englishing of Latin texts" (*Ben Jonson*, p. 245).

When his play of a Silent Woman was first acted, ther was found verses after on the stage against him, 780 concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, ther was never one man to say Plaudite to it.

[l. 779, a Silent Woman, S.; the Silent Woman, F.

FINIS

JONSON'S IMPRESA

His Impresa was a Compass with one foot in Center, the other broken, the word, Deest quod duceret orbem.

Conversations, 17 (p. 47).

ENVOI

φεύγετ', Ἀριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
Ἑλλάδα, τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος,
γωνιοβόμβυκες, μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμηλε
τὸ σφιν καὶ σφῶιν καὶ τὸ μὶν ἠδὲ τὸ νιν.
τοῦθ' ὑμῖν εἴη δυσπέμφελον· Ἡροδικῷ δὲ
Ἕλλὰς ἀεὶ μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβυλών.

—HERODICUS, *apud Athenaeum*, 222 A.

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